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**THE YEAR BOOK OF ORIENTAL ART
AND CULTURE**

THE YEAR BOOK OF ORIENTAL ART AND CULTURE 1924-1925

EDITED BY
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YÜN SHOU-P'ING CALLED "NAN-T' IEN," 1633-1690

By A. WALEY

Good Chinese paintings of the later periods are almost as rare in Europe as are paintings of early times. This does not mean that they are scarce in China, but only that dealers have not considered it worth while to import them. That this is a pity will I think be recognized by anyone who has seen the original¹ of the piece which I reproduce on Plates 1, 2 and 3. No photograph can give any idea of this painting, partly because just those qualities which distinguish it from a thousand other apparently similar works do not show in reproduction, partly because its effect depends so largely upon colour. The difference between this painting and the bogus Yün Nan-t'iens which are so common in European collections is very hard to define. The technical procedure is exactly the same. The composition is adequate, but quite conventional. The whole beauty of the screen lies in the way in which the colours are used to build up an undulating interplay of surfaces and tones. The effect is not in the least that of a flat patchwork of coloured spaces, as seen, for example, in Japanese colour-prints and ordinary modern Chinese flower-pieces. But I doubt if it is much use talking about pictures and shall therefore say something about the painter. What follows has of course a certain cultural and literary interest, but has nothing to do with art.

"He was a native of Wu-chin in Kiangsu. He came of good family. . . . He had a turn for painting landscape, but so soon as he saw Wang Hui's work, he knew that he had not the talent to compete with him and said to Hui, 'Brother, I leave this branch of the art to you, for it would pain me to be known as the second landscapist in China.' Upon this he quitted landscape and became a flower-painter . . . yet he did occasionally paint landscape, as, for example, small views of the Red Hills, copies of Chao Mêng-fu's 'Water-village'; 'Slender Willows and Withered Oziers' and the like. These were all works of great distinction and refinement, impregnated with the limpid and exotic spirit of the Yüan masters. But having resigned his ambitions as a landscape-painter he seldom brought himself to experiment in this direction. He once wrote to Wang Hui: 'In landscape I doubt whether I should ever break down the flimsiest barrier. The difficulty comes from my being trussed up in the rules and regulations of the Old Masters.'

"His flower paintings were simple, lucid, vigorous and solid; his colouring bright and elegant. The very workings of Heaven and moods of all things on earth seemed to cluster at his brush-point; and is not a great master measured just by this?

¹ It is a large nine-fold screen painted on silk; here reproduced by kind permission of Mr. Morton Sando, to whom it belongs. As it is glazed and irremovable, the task of photographing it was very difficult.

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" . . . He was by nature fastidious and discriminating. If he met a friend he would perhaps spend a whole month painting for him. But to some one he did not like he would not sell a single leaf or blossom, and from such a one he regarded an offer of 100 pieces of gold . . . as lightly as a grain of mustard-seed. Thus when he had already been practising his art for a score or so of years, he was still as poor as at the start. But in his family life he never showed bitterness or discontent, but was always singing poems to himself, writing or painting, just for his own pleasing. He called his house the *Ou-hsiang-kuan* ('Tea-pot-fragrance Lodging'); from here he exchanged poems with all the notables of the day, and here at sixty-odd he died. His sons could not afford to bury him with proper ceremony and Wang Hui took charge of the funeral. . . .

"When Mr. Censor Ch'a of Ching-k'ou in Kiangsu was going to Peking, Wang Hui escorted him. They moored their boat at a certain river-bank and in the course of drinking healths and saying farewell they fell to speaking of the *Six Component Parts of painting*. Hui, pointing to the autumn wood on the far side of the river, said to the Censor: 'Surely the uneven line of the trees, now close-set, now straggling, the alternating tones of red and grey, form into a natural picture?' and to please the Censor he painted the scene. Next morning Yün Nan-t'ien also came that way and was so much enraptured by the view that he wrote eight poems, and even the Censor commemorated it in a prose essay. This incident was frequently referred to at the time as a notable artistic conjuncture. Those were times of peace and prosperity; courtiers and grandees were able to make agreeable excursions, cultivate their taste, and promote the fine arts. An anecdote such as the above helps us to imagine the loftiness of their thoughts and the refinement of their feelings on such occasions."¹

"As a man he was so perfectly loyal and affectionate both to his parents and to his friends that he did not seem to belong to the present age. He had indeed the ways of an old-fashioned Confucian gentleman."²

"When I visited Yün Nan-t'ien and was going up to the hall I found courtyard and gate hushed in deep stillness and chrysanthemums growing thick upon the steps. Here indeed was one who was not ashamed to proclaim himself an aesthete."³

Nan-t'ien was author of the *Ou-hsiang kuan Hua Po*, a series of notes written as appreciations of various paintings which he had seen. It is reprinted in volumes 5 and 6 of the *Hua Hsueh Hsin Yin*. It contains accounts of many conversations with Wang Hui and other great figures of the day. From the remarks contained in this book we see that his models were the great flower-painters of the Sung dynasty. For the Ming masters with their impressionistic and transcendental interpretation of nature⁴ he had nothing but contempt. After seeing some flower-

¹ *Hua Ch'ing Lu*, II, 2.

² *Chiang-nan T'ang Chih*, quoted in *Kuo Ch'ao Hua Chih*, IV, 3.

³ From the *Shao Shih T'ang Chi*, quoted *ibid*.

⁴ This applies to the flower-painters, not to the popular subject-illustrators such as Ch'iu Ying.

YÜN SHOU-P'ING, CALLED "NAN-TIEN," 1633-1690

studies by Ch'ên Shun (1483-1544) and Lu Chih (1495-1576) he writes: "They seem to have thought that art consists in altering nature. I on the other hand believe that it is only by pushing truthful representation to its absolute limits that one can transmit the inner essence of a flower's being."

THE COLLECTION OF NŌ MASKS IN THE SECTION OF EASTERN ASIATIC ART IN THE BERLIN MUSEUM

BY FRIEDRICH PERZYNSKI

The collection of masks in the Berlin Museum gives an excellent idea of a set of Nō masks ordered, towards the middle of the 19th century, by a small feudal lord. Their former owner was the Daimyō Maēda, a resident of Toyama in Etchū. He belonged to a younger branch of the richest Japanese princely family settled in Kanazawa, and himself had an annual income of 100,000 koku Reis.

The extent of the collection, which originally included about 230 masks, corresponds approximately to Fenollosa's reckoning, that for the 200 plays of the Nō dance nearly 300 masks were required, though certainly the number was reduced. For certain types, as Ō beshimi, the Shōjō drunkard mask, Kurohige, Koomote, Kojō, Uba, to mention only the commonest, are found in great numbers, the Ō beshimi actually in ten examples.

To judge from the writing on the cases, bags, and cushions, the dates in which may be partly taken from an inventory, the foundation of the collection was made rather late, towards the beginning of the 19th century. The style of most of the works also points to this date. Towards the middle of the century the collection was hastily increased in size, at the instance, certainly, of a member of the Maēda family especially devoted to the Nō. The Daimyō looked round for good old examples which he had reproduced; like the Shōgun, at whose suggestion the celebrated masks of the Kwanze family were copied exactly "even to the stains of age."¹ A small staff of carvers were in the prince's regular pay, among them two artists in particular, whose names constantly recur stamped or inscribed on the backs of the masks and their mountings. These are *Shigeyoshi* (whose younger brother is also named as having finished some of the masks) and *Mitsumoto*. They carved many dozens of masks, in an almost feverish activity. Whenever they could they kept to older examples, and when the copy was more exact than usual, sometimes even mentioned the name of the original artist. The most productive of the two seems to have been Shigeyoshi, who contributed over forty masks to the collection, and hardly had time to work up the backs in a manner satisfactory to hand and eye. More than one show only too plainly the rough traces of a hastily driven chisel, which has left thick splinters of wood instead of carefully hollowing it out and thus providing the eye with a picture of animated and plastically expressive planes. From these backs, often badly coloured and offering a disagreeable resistance to the hand which feels them, from such poor specimens it can be understood why carvers of the good period, their admirers, and careful collectors, lay the highest value on the treatment of the backs. The eye susceptible to the charms of calligraphy looks for, and finds on the reverse side, the carver's own handwriting, and can often conclude, from that alone, as to the quality of the mask.

¹ Fenollosa, *Noh*, p. 53.

THE COLLECTION OF NŌ MASKS

However mechanical is the spirit from which the works of Shigeyoshi and Mitsumoto arise, both of them, from the constant practice of carvers who are learning and maturing, attained to an independent execution. They afford informing evidence for understanding the art of the middle of the 19th century, and show that if there was no improvement in it there was at least variety.

In the *Kanawa onna* (No. 921, Plate 4), the best of the three Kanawa masks in this collection, Shigeyoshi shows his skill as an imitator. It is the dull and colourless face of the Jealous Woman, who carries on her head an inverted iron tripod with three burning tapers, in order to obtain power over the life of her unfaithful husband by means of this exorcism. A saddened, embittered, grey countenance looks out from sunken, glinting, greenish-gold eyes—(the cutis is painted gold)—glaring malignantly downward. Hatred also lurks in the corners of the mouth, where the thin skin lies in malevolent folds. The bridge of the nose is lengthened into the forehead, and stands out bonily. The leanness of the features, which reminds us of the Yase onna type, shows eloquently the well-modelled eyes with the edge of the orbits standing out sharply and plastically, and the prominent cheek bones. A charming play of flickering lights and softly vanishing shadows is thus developed. The passion here represented has nothing glaring, rather is it repressed. The hand of a great master is still clearly visible in this late copy of the Kanazawa carver—a master whose well-balanced temperament found a noble satisfaction in representing the most delicate gradations, and the most subdued modulations.

Whimsical children of the spirit, lively if uncouth creatures, are awakened to plastic life by Shigeyoshi, in his Beshimi and Kurohige types. The Ō beshimi head (No. 866, Plate 5) is crudely hacked out; the mask in the lower part of the face is quite distorted into an animal with a screwed-up mouth, pushed forward like a toad's. The widely distended nostrils are placed far apart, the nose has no point and rises shapelessly to the upper cavity. Curving folds of an unnatural kind press down on the forehead and eyes. They cover the lower part of the projecting, lidless metal eyes, in arches running across them. The hairiness of the face is as terrifying as the expression; the imitation moustache and the disgusting stuff set like hair on this devil's skin is a caricature of the hair on a human face. The skin is coloured a hideous grey, and the edges of the folds have a greenish gloss.

The Beshimi masks of Shigeyoshi and Mitsumoto in this collection run through the whole scale, from serious and gloomy demons, as the time-honoured tradition prescribed, to the opposite pole, as here, of distortion fit to frighten a child. It is especially so, because these later artists feel themselves in their own element if they completely deform the faces to grimaces, if they twist the lips over, or speckle the skin in the most improbable colours, which run together on the forehead and cheeks like resinous protuberances, as if the liquid colour had oozed through.

This tendency to exaggeration leads to the most curious variations, which hardly have anything in common with the original type. Shigeyoshi's Kurohige (No. 935, Plate 6) no longer shows anything of the not very happy vase-shaped outline of the

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classical Kurohige mask. It is the head of an uncanny monster whose effect on the stage goes far beyond the bounds once elevated into a law by the reserved art of the Nō, even when suggesting diabolical powers. Shigeyoshi's demon has a face distorted on one side. Hence one-half the brow is completely out of shape, and the chin is far from its place, to the left of the axis of the nose. The line of the eyebrows, too, goes off obliquely. One eyeball is sunken and half-covered, the other protrudes, large and staring. The very bent brow is ploughed with warped folds. If we add that this Fury is coloured blue in the face, it will give a rough idea of the mask's terrifying ugliness; its effect must have thrown in the shade even the wildest pantomime supported by all the skill in make-up of a Danjurō.

The momentous path to the grotesque and the distorted was thus taken, and it is only a short step from the Kurohige to the Ama (Kyōgen) mask (No. 1036, Plate 7), where a correct picture of a disease is intended to produce (and does indeed successfully produce) hysterical laughter. This old, blind, bald-headed nun seems not so much pitiful as comic. She has had a stroke down one side of her face, which, however, certainly on purpose, is represented anatomically incorrectly. The carver has drawn down the wrong corner of the mouth. The wrinkles on the forehead, the region of the cheek bone and the eyelid, hang down on the palsied side. The teeth of the disfigured mouth consist of a few miserable stumps. The crooked face is coloured white, with a light yellowish sheen, like old skin with a bad circulation. The wrinkles are heightened in whitish or yellowish colour. It ought to make one cry to see how age and illness disfigure people, but when this lump of misfortune stumbles across the stage a salvo of very cruel but primally healthy laughter breaks out.

"Tachibana Shigeyoshi Himi no Kōin Ise no daijō" is written in gold-lacquered letters in the Fushimi jō mask (No. 1050) of the Berlin collection. A Spanish grandee of long descent could hardly sign much more proudly than this late-comer, overwhelmed with the respect of his calling. We learn from it that Shigeyoshi, with the empty title, "Ise no daijō," reckoned himself as a member of the Tachibana clan, and considered himself a branch (Kōin), an artistic follower, of Himi.

The boastfulness of the inscription, the Kakihan and the writing on the bag guarantee this Nō mask (Plate 8) as an independent work of Shigeyoshi's. The attempt to enrich the repertory of masks with a completely new type deserves unrestricted recognition. No older master, not even that inventor of the thin face altogether absorbed in grief, whose artistic inheritance Shigeyoshi purports to have taken up, stood godfather to the preliminary idea of this head. It is Shigeyoshi's own original invention, for it bears all the characteristics of his art and period. Many details are neither well thought out nor plastically alive. The expression of this "old man of Fushimi" is artificial, and frozen into immobility.

Shigeyoshi carved this face of Inari (the Rice God) of Fushimi in order to drive away evil spirits, as is said on the back of the mask. This god man's countenance

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speaks of great benevolence. The lower half is much narrowed, and terminates in an unusual, pointed, Don Quixote-like chin. The eyes, long slits in the shape of crescent moons, give the effect of blinking cheerfully but a trifle drowsily. The groove of the narrow eyelids which mask the glance is too near to the cheeks. In the set of the ears, too, the carver took natural proportions into small account. The upper edge of the shell lies high above the eye, the lobe of the ear ends on a level with the cheek bone. The slightly parted lips uncover the upper teeth; the corners of the mouth are channelled out quite irregularly, and part of the flabby, lower lip hangs down as if turned over. A silky moustache and beard are put on, and ornament the upper lip and chin; they charitably conceal the hard, notched folds which run from nose to mouth. The wrinkles of the fawn-coloured, lustreless face, are tinted flesh colour—the three mannered heavy “crow’s-feet” a grey white.

Such was Shigeyoshi, stifled by the work of copying, occasionally lashing himself up, in front of great models, to flights of imagination of his own; an artist capable of the most rugged, and aspiring after the most delicate. The homage to Hîmi’s genius shown by his Fushimi jō mask, a work as ambitious as it is inadequate, is, in spite of the bombast of the inscription, moving and sympathetic.

There are about thirty masks by *Mitsumoto* (pronounced in Sino-japanese: “Kōgen”). He treated the backs rather more thoroughly than Shigeyoshi. He was successful with a few good copies, e.g. the mild mask of Uba (No. 357) and the lustful face of the Gargantua-like boy-devil Shuten dōji (“drunken boy”; No. 1009). In a Kyōgen mask (No. 1040, Plate 9) marked with his stamp and going by the utterly meaningless name of Oto (i.e. youngest) he has modified an ancient subject, with wit and exuberant humour, either from his own resources or by the help of earlier interpretations.¹ The easy, exquisitely modelled mask, the back of which shows the natural colour of the wood and fits agreeably into the hand, represents the features of a woman, neither young nor old, who is laughing. The laugh is foolish and yet eternally gay. For it proceeds from a hydrocephalous creature, on whose arched and, as it were, compressed brow a few strands of thin hair, parted on the top of the head, hang untidily down; she has the cheeks of a marmot. (Pathology derives such irregular swellings from deficiency in the secretions of the thyroid gland, one of the causes of cretinism.) The shapes of the eyes and mouth are in agreement with the shape of the face. The thickening of the skin with rolls of fat has made the eyes as narrow and small as those of a pig. The nose is stunted; the nostrils are all the more widely open. Between the double chin and the snub nose, the mouth, twisted to one side above, reveals its attractions. It shows a row of upper teeth, and below them the tongue, pushed out. The pose is equivocal and comic, and the laughter infectious.

The subject, as we have said, is of great antiquity. Did not the Japanese gods once, when the Sun goddess was annoyed and hid in a cave, burst into roars of

¹ An interpretation deviating, it is true, in important ways from the tradition, with immense chubby cheeks ornamented with pit marks and wide-awake round eyes, was published by Mr. Kanda.

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laughter, and by this laughter—for goddesses, too, are inquisitive—entice the Shining One from her hiding-place? It was Uzume, the divine joke maker, who, with dance and gesture, evoked wholesome laughter. As Okame and Otafuku she mounted the Kyōgen stage, where harmless jokes and playfulness prevailed, for the serious Nō had no place for her somewhat scandalous personality and laughter. In the Kyōgen plays, "Sai no me," "Roku Jizō," "Butsushi," etc., her characteristic face emerges, the paunchy, protruding forehead with the unnaturally high-set brows, and the great chubby cheeks, between which eyes, snub nose, and mouth almost disappear. Her person is present when a coarse joke wakens infectious laughter. In the Oto masks, whose features are assimilated to hers, there is revealed an undisguised—in the sense of the old myth we may say a divine impudence. And so for half an hour the sorrows of our earthly existence are forgotten, the solemn gravity and the melancholy of the Nō are as it were swept away. Uzume's symbol, the buffoon, a true source of happy roars of laughter, with cheeks hanging about him like sacks of meal, his tongue sticking out impertinently, makes to the public his inimitably comic bow.

A NOTE ON THE CONFRONTATION OF ANIMALS IN CHINESE ART

BY LEIGH ASHTON

There is perhaps in the history of art no motive so widely spread as that of Confronted or addorsed animals. It is the main theme of the Lion gate at Mycenae; it is found on pre-dynastic palettes in Egypt: and in China, too, this form of decoration appears at every period of artistic activity. The most familiar type in Western art, the type used by the Byzantines and their imitators, has been shown by Strzygowski to draw its inspiration from Mesopotamian sources, and it is certain that during the more recent periods of Chinese history a similar derivation can be traced; for, during the T'ang dynasty (618-906 A.D.), Sassanian and, during the Yüan (1280-1367 A.D.) and later dynasties, Mohammedan art exercised their influence in a similar though not so marked degree on Chinese decorative art. But this method of treatment was already a well-established convention in the earlier periods of Chinese history. Was it indigenous or is its inception due to an extraneous influence?

The earliest relics of Chinese art, of which we can be certain in our dating, are the bone carvings found on the site of the ancient city of Yin, capital of the Shang (1766-1122 B.C.) and earlier dynasties. Among a number of these exhibited at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1912, by Mr. L. C. Hopkins, were two carved with confronted fishes, one merely in the form of two fishes, the other with the fish supporting a tablet-disc (*kuei-pi*). These are instances of homophonous amulets, popular then, as in later times, as presents; for the symbol *yü* signifies both "fish" and "abundance." In common parlance they are good luck charms, but it seems likely that often they were intended to bring fecundity, a Lupercalean gift of a lover to his betrothed. Hence the attitude of the animals, who were often represented embracing. Both the idea and the execution seem original, for but for the play on words the conception would not arise. But the design also occurs on the most ancient types of bronzes, such as one in the Emperor Hui tsung's catalogue, where the vessel, of supposed Shang workmanship, is decorated with confronted bulls (cf. Laufer, *Chinese clay figures*, 1914, Fig. 22). No foreign influence at so early a period can have brought with it this idea, and there is only one, and it is, as yet, an unproved theory, which could explain an extraneous inspiration. If the excavations of the Pummelly expedition at Anau prove the existence of a Central Asian civilization, which through successive migratory activities due to physiographical conditions peopled both China and Sumeria, then in the art of such a nation may have originated this conception in Asia; for the design is certainly to be found in the earliest Sumerian art (cf. a cylinder-seal in the British Museum, No. 89308, where the story of Gilgamesh and Eabani in conflict with bulls in a mountainous and forest-covered country is treated formally, with one figure and one bull facing each other across a tree-topped cone). But the actual origin of the Chinese is as yet unproved, and we can say that in the present state of our knowledge the motive appears to be indigenous.

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This premise adopted, it is only in differing forms that we can trace foreign importations. During the Chou dynasty (1122-255 B.C.) the influence of Central Asian animal forms is, as Rostovtzev has pointed out, clearly visible; and this influence of Central Asian art, in which the motive is frequently used, grows noticeably through the succeeding empires of Ch'in (255-206 B.C.) and Han (206 B.C.-A.D. 220). In such an object as the bronze pectoral ornament in Mr. Rutherford's Collection (Plate 10, Fig. A) the design seems to draw an added vitality from barbarian sources. The technique, too, with the deep roughly incised lines is hardly characteristic of Chinese workmanship. It is in the actual drawing that the sensitiveness of the Chinese artist is most obvious. The two cocks, sure and vivid, are probably loving, not fighting, and the ornament is probably amatory in idea. It is possible that the birds are not cocks but fêng-birds, for jade girdle-pendants were commonly made in the form of two fêng-birds in the Han period, to which this bronze probably belongs, and cocks are not common in early Chinese art, though it is true that the Palace of the Copper Cocks was one of the most famous of the Han buildings.

During the T'ang period (A.D. 618-906) Sassanian influence on Chinese decorative art was very marked. Not only did the military activities of the T'ang emperors bring the Iranian civilizations into close contact with China, but the considerable Zoroastrian colony in the capital, which was further raised to importance by the presence of the deposed King Firouz III, stimulated the interest in their æsthetic qualities. A portion of a silk fabric in the Imperial Treasury at Nara (deposited in A.D. 756) shows strong Sassanian influence both in the drawing of the rams' bodies and their reverted heads, but the sacred hōm-tree between is a mere apology and the Chinese seem never to have adopted the heraldic type of foliage of the Sassanians, but to have preferred their own naturalistic forms (Plate 10, Fig. B).

The distinction between Sassanian and Mohammedan influence is a very subtle one, and one which, owing to the gradual merging of the former in the latter, is difficult to define in its bearing on Chinese decorative art. But it is possible in the drawing of the animals on the pottery pillow here illustrated (Plate 11) to see the suggestion of Mohammedan rather than Sassanian ideas. The more naturalistic form of drawing, the feeling for the flowing curves of line, the refinement and minuteness of detail, are all characteristic of the Mohammedan influence, which brought with it a quality of quasi-sophistication, which is lacking in the more elemental force of Sassanian formality. Mohammedan dominance seems to have first attained any degree of power under Kúblai's dominion, and it is probable that this pillow, which is of Tz'u-chou ware, is more likely to be dated in the Yuan (A.D. 1280-1367) than in the Sung period (A.D. 960-1280). It is decorated with a pair of *hse-tu*, one of the six emblems of long life.

INDIAN COSTUMES, CIRCA 1600

BY E. A. VORETZSCH

The relations of Portugal with India in the 16th century are well known. As the first of the Western powers to explore the Indian Ocean with adventurous keel, as the first also to establish herself for many centuries on the seacoast of India and to send her fleets to and fro between the old continent and the new, it is in Portugal that we should expect to find the richest prizes that those important years of the first clash of West and East have to offer.

Much that still lies concealed in the rich archives of the country must await later investigation. The little that has come to light is not to be found set out in the broad galleries of museums; the worker must patiently collect his own material. In those days of greed for gold, when men trod the path of violence and adventure in the pursuit of wealth and honour, the spices and precious stones of the East were of more account to the majority than works of art, sculpture, pictures, or scientific investigation.

For the most part we owe the little that is preserved to the efforts of missionaries, not least to the Jesuit missionaries who went to India under Francis Xavier. So it is not surprising that it is in the chief centres of the Society in Portugal and in their churches that we discover material for the investigation of India. Unfortunately the earthquake of 1755, which wrought such havoc in Lisbon, has swept much away. But in the church of St. Roque, a late Renaissance building dating from 1452-1485, which was left undamaged, we have bequeathed to us a work which contributes in no small measure to our knowledge of the costumes of old India: a series of twenty paintings of Xavier's life, the great missionary of the East and canonized apostle of India and Japan.

A few words as to the life of the Saint may not be out of place. Born in 1506, the youngest son of an aristocratic family, Don Francisco Xavier y Jassu studied at Paris University with Calvin and Ignatius Loyola, who had been an officer in the army, and was, like Xavier, by birth a Basque. Ignatius Loyola won the young graduate for his projected Society of Jesus, and with all the glowing enthusiasm of his chivalrous soul Xavier dedicated his life to the ideal of his Master, Jesus Christ, pledging himself to serve his King alike in apostolic poverty and zeal in the salvation of souls.

When, in 1539, John III of Portugal demanded from Loyola missionaries for his East Indian possessions, Francis Xavier was selected for the task. Two years later he weighed anchor from Lisbon and, reaching India in 1542, landed at Goa, the principal town. Here he remained during the stormy season, and when the sea was once again propitious sailed south to Cape Comorin, where the pearl-fishing Paravas dwelt. The latter, baptized some eight years previously, had spent the interval without priests or instruction. They found their apostle in Xavier. From village to village he pursued his untiring way, overthrowing images and protecting his Paravas alike from the oppression of their new masters, the tyranny of their own officials, and the raids of the wild horsemen, the Naik of Madura.

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His fame as a thaumaturge preceded him and the prayers of the white father were found of more efficacy than the Mantrams of the Brahmins. At Cape Comorin the Saint was even credited with raising the dead, and in neighbouring Travancore 10,000 Makua fishers received baptism at his hands within a month.

In 1545 Xavier delegated the mission at Cape Comorin to his associates, and at the grave of the apostle Thomas in Mailapur resolved on a voyage of discovery to the Far-Eastern Moluccas. He visited Amboyna, Ternate, Halmahera, and was staying at Malacca on his return voyage to India, when in the dead of night a fleet of Mohammedan pirates from Achin made a descent upon the town. At the instigation of Xavier the natives repelled and annihilated them at the river Parles.

Shortly after this victory the Saint was surprised by unexpected visitors, three representatives of the recently discovered northern island, Japan, who were brought to him by a ship's captain. The reports they gave him of that country ripened his resolve to win that highly gifted people to the faith. In 1549, with the three Japanese, who he had baptized, as interpreters, Xavier sailed northwards in a Chinese junk. In Kagoshima, Hirado, and Yamaguchi he preached the Gospel. Then in mid-winter, undeterred by the civil war which was then raging, he made his way to Miako, the capital, to seek audience of the king. But the Mikado, impoverished and powerless, was inaccessible, the Shogun had taken to flight, and the war was still raging. So Xavier returned to Yamaguchi, where he was honourably received by Ouchi Yoshitaka, the liege lord. Thence he journeyed to Funai, to the court of Otomo Yoshishige, Daimyo of Bungo. Here he met and vanquished the Buddhist bonzes in solemn disputation. In 1551 the apostle returned to India, to recruit fresh workers for the ripening harvest in Japan and to attempt his last great enterprise, the enlightenment of China. But this privilege was denied him. He had reached the lonely island of Sanzian, not far from the coast of China, near Macao, when his Master summoned his tireless warrior to his rest on 3rd of December, 1552. Two years later his body was borne in state to Goa, where it still rests, and whither Indians of every race and creed come to pay their homage.

The canonization of the apostle of India and Japan, as Xavier was called henceforth, was celebrated in 1662 with unparalleled pomp and ceremony at Lisbon. Here in the capital of the Portuguese empire, in the church of St. Roque, the head-quarters of the Portuguese province of the Society, whence year by year the fathers of the Order departed for the distant mission fields to carry on the work initiated by their great brother and patron, a fitting memorial was duly erected to Xavier. It took the form of the twenty paintings, which depict his life for posterity.

There was at this period no institution in the world which was more exactly informed as to the customs, usages, and apparel of the newly discovered countries than the Society of Jesus. By sheer unremitting toil, at once broad and detailed, had the members gathered all available information which appeared of value.

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It is for this reason that what we see pictorially represented at St. Roque is of prime importance as a contribution to our knowledge of Indian dress and customs.

It only remains to establish the date of the pictures.

They are generally assigned to André Reinoso,¹ who is considered the painter of "The Adoration of the Magi" and the "Birth of Christ," also in St. Roque. Reinoso lived about 1641, and to this period the Xavier pictures may well belong. A. Raczyński, Prussian ambassador in Lisbon, who made an exhaustive study of Portuguese painting, throws doubts on this ascription. In his letters to the Akademie der Künste und Wissenschaften, Berlin, which were published in 1846 under the title of *Les Arts en Portugal*, while definitely opposing the theory that the pictures are the work of several artists, he is equally emphatic that they can hardly be from the same hand as the "Adoration of the Magi" and the "Birth of Christ."² He repeats the statement in 1847 in a *Dictionnaire historico-artistique du Portugal*.³

If only Machado was not definite in his attribution the claims of Domingo da Cunha, S.J., might well be considered, who died in 1644 in the novitiate of the Society, the present Escola Politechnica, not far from St. Roque. Balthasar Telles, it is true, the historian of the Order, in his *Chronica da Companhia de Jesus*, Lisbon, 1645-47, says nothing about the pictures in his description of the church, but his brother Jesuit, A. Franco, in his work, *Imagem da Virtude de Lisboa*, Coimbra, 1717, gives a detailed Life of the painter da Cunha,⁴ and remarks that he studied in Madrid under Eugenio Cajez, court painter of Philip II, and on his return to Lisbon became a fashionable painter, indeed the most admired portrait painter in the city, and there in 1632 entered the Society of Jesus. To his remarkable talent could more than fifty works from his brush in the novitiate bear witness, among them a Life of Xavier, in addition to a Life of the Virgin and another of Loyola. But in the fire of 1843 these pictures, or as many of them as were still in the novitiate, were destroyed. Two, however, which were saved and might have formed the basis of a comparison, "The Virgin borne to Heaven" and "Xavier's Death," were sold some years ago and have since disappeared.

Whoever the artist may be, it is at least certain that the series of pictures date from the first half of the 17th century and represent the costumes which were in use on the West Coast of India about the turn of the century.

Of the twenty paintings

- (1) "Xavier takes leave of Pope Paul III."
- (2) "Xavier before departure prevails on a cavalier wounded in an affray to forgive his Enemy and heals him."
- (3) "Xavier takes leave of King John III."
- (4) "Xavier cares for the Sick and Dead in Goa."
- (5) "Preaching the Gospel at Goa."

¹ Thus is the definite assertion of Cyrillo Volkmar Machado, *Collecção de Memorias relativas ás vida dos pintores e escultores*, etc., Lisbon, 1823, p. 74, based on Felix da Costa, who wrote in 1696 a "Serie de Memorias de 19 Pintores." ² Pp. 289, 290. ³ P. 241. ⁴ Pp. 485-551.

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- (6) "Holding a Mission among the Heathen."
- (7) "A Dead Man raised at Cape Comorin."
- (8) "Xavier celebrates Holy Communion."
- (9) "Xavier turns Salt Water into Fresh."
- (10) "Xavier tormented by Evil Spirits in Mailapur."
- (11) "Xavier stirs up the Portuguese Malaccas to fight the Achinese."
- (12) "Xavier rescues the Child of a Mohammedan Sailor from Drowning."
- (13) "A Crab at Seran brings back to Xavier his lost Crucifix."
- (14) "A Volcano destroys the apostate Tolo in answer to Xavier's prayer."
- (15) "Xavier's Winter Journey to Miako."
- (16) "Xavier's Disputation with Bonzes in Bungo before Otomo Yoshishige."
- (17) "Xavier raises the Daughter of a Japanese from the dead in Bungo."
- (18) "Xavier brings back a Vessel adrift in a Storm."
- (19) "Xavier's Death."
- (20) "Xavier's Body borne on a Bier at Goa"

it is pictures 5, 6, 7, 9, 16, and 17 which attract our special attention, and of these No. 5, "Preaching the Gospel in Goa," and No. 7, "A Dead Man raised at Cape Comorin," are here reproduced. Of the two, No. 5 (Plate 12) is the more important, owing to its remarkable completeness and the diversity of the Portuguese and Indian types represented.

The background shows a street scene with church tower and fountain. In the foreground we see in the middle a knot of children with Xavier and his assistants on the right and some listeners standing near them, on the left a group of natives and behind some cavaliers on horseback.

The figure of the Saint detaches itself from the bright costumes that surround him. He is wearing the usual black gown, and holding his hat and staff in his left hand gazes with rapture to heaven. Next to him stands his attendant, also in black, and rebukes two quarrelling children with taps on the head from his staff. Behind him are two Portuguese, each with a banner, one picturing the Virgin, the other two saints.

In the middle foreground are seated the children, Portuguese and natives together, and with them two ayahs, native nurses, in long gaily patterned robes, short white coats and red slippers. Their glistening black hair is gathered in a knot behind. Right and left of the children we see the adults, the white figure of a Bania or Gujarati merchant contrasting with the black robes of Xavier. He has a long white beard, white turban, white robe to the ground, red shoes, and over the shoulders hangs the long fine shawl, the Indian sudarium.

Beside him stands another merchant, probably a Persian, with long black beard, yellow turban, violet kaftan and yellow shoes. On the other side of the Saint stands a bareheaded group of Portuguese hanging upon his words. On the left of the picture near the children may be seen a row of coloured listeners, their complexions representative of many Eastern races. The brown body of the first from the left is stripped to the waist; he is wearing a grey and white striped

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hip-cloth, white turban, leather sandals and a dagger on the right hip in Malay fashion. His neighbour is more richly clad. He wears a white turban, white shirt, coloured hip-cloth, black coat with red lining, red shoes and a pearl necklace and holds a fan in his right hand. The third is a man of the people, a Hindoo, with white turban, jacket and hip-cloth. Next to him is a negro slave who holds the bridle of a horse for his Portuguese rider. Another slave in front of him may be recognized as a Christian by the red rosary with red cross which he wears round his neck. A contrast to his dusky countenance is afforded by the pale-faced Persian beside him, who is wearing a white turban and a black velvet coat trimmed with gold. Behind the natives are four Portuguese horsemen, three of them bareheaded, the fourth wearing a cap with a feather in it. They have ruffles round their necks, black doublets, with mantles thrown over them; and negro slaves hold red and blue sunshades over their heads.

The costumes with which we have been dealing show a certain resemblance to those depicted in Von Linschoten's¹ Indian drawings. But a few comparisons² will suffice to show that the pictures before us owe their origin to independent studies and plainly to such as are based on the accurate descriptions and drawings of the missionaries.

If the second illustration (No. 7 of the Xavier series in the sacristy of St. Roque, Plate 13), "A Dead Man raised at Cape Comorin," is excelled by the first in the number of interesting figures, it is the more valuable alike as a picture and as evidence of the magnificence of the textiles.

In the middle of the picture, by the open grave, stands Francis Xavier, the people to right and left of him, men and women, in their brightly coloured Indian robes; the background is formed of a European landscape with rocks, trees, and houses; in the far right corner is a city on a hill. A coolie sits in the grave, and round him lies the loose earth, the spade and baskets. To the right of him kneels another man, his head-cloth knotted on the left, with bangles on his arm. He props himself on his mattock, while two labourers hold back the heavy stone covering of the grave with ropes. The Saint in black cassock and mantle stands by the open grave, breviary in hand, his ascetic face surrounded by a halo. Left of him kneels a man, the father probably of the dead man, his hands raised in supplication to the Saint. He is wearing a blue robe, a sleeveless yellow jacket and a red turban, which remind us of the red cap of the Parava fishermen introduced by the Portuguese at the beginning of the 16th century; he is perhaps one of the chief fishermen. A second man kneels by him, clad only from waist to feet in a robe in Malabar fashion. At the side kneel two women wrapped in saris. The clothing of the first is white and her head is covered; the sari of the

¹ Johann Hugo v. Linschoten. "Navigatio ac Itinerarium Hagae Comitum," 1599.

² (a) The Bania; Linschoten, pl. 58-59 habitus.

(b) The Portuguese horsemen and slave; Linschoten, pl. 46-47 hac forma.

(c) The costumes of the Portuguese; Linschoten, pl. 44-45 Goens, pl. 46-47 gestus.

(d) The pattern and fabric of the clothes; Linschoten, pl. 48-49 lectuli, pl. 38-39 habitus.

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other is embroidered with a big Indian flower pattern, and her long black hair is gathered in a knot and decked with flowers. In her ears are golden ear-rings with lustrous pearls, and round her neck a double necklace of the same, evidence that the coast where the action takes place is a centre of pearl fishing. Behind the women some men may be seen eagerly awaiting the coming events. The three in front, two Hindoos naked to the waist and one Bania in a long white robe with white turban, girdle and shoulder-cloth, are wrapped in the stillness of wonder. Another man close by, in a green robe, wearing a richly ornamented dagger on his right hip in the Malay fashion and the green turban of the prophet on his head, gazes earnestly into the grave; a Bania also bends over it, pointing upwards with his right hand at the Saint, and a Hindoo in a yellow head-cloth knotted on the left, clad in a dark green, gold-embroidered jacket and red hip-cloth with white patterns, raises his hands to Heaven in supplication, while bending his gaze upon the grave. We see in him, perhaps, the head man of the village, the Patangatin.

To balance the two women who are kneeling on the extreme left of the picture, in the right corner stands a Bania with his wife. He is wearing a white turban, golden ear-rings, and the usual *fine* white robe to the ground, gathered at the waist with a white sash, and a long white shawl hanging from the shoulders. His slippers are red and pointed. His wife is wrapped in a bluish-green *sari* covered with white and gold patterns in the old Indian style; gold bangles, a double necklace of pearls and a nose-ring complete her *toilette*.

Among those in the background two men stand out: they are Nairs, Malabar soldiers, with long swords on their shoulders, the left hand placed on their high, red, oval shields. The noble repose of the apostle amid the excited brown forms of the Indians in their bright robes between the figures of the Bania and his wife and the two kneeling women blends with the green background, forming a harmonious grouping of rich colouring. The patterns of the clothes in the two pictures which are here reproduced are painted with great distinctness, are of much interest, and merit a more detailed description than is possible in this short essay.

The other four pictures mentioned above may be treated cursorily.

No. 6. "Holding a mission among the Heathen."

The picture is one of the small middle pictures. Xavier preaches before the Crucifix, which a native is fervently embracing. Natives kneel round him in a circle, and the figures in the foreground, a woman with a shawl draping her shoulders and hips and a man in a white jacket and red and yellow-striped sarong, are remarkable for the sharpness with which the patterns of their clothes are reproduced, the red, yellow and blue circle-pattern of the former reminding us of Bokhara embroideries.

No. 9. "Xavier turns Salt Water into Fresh."

The action takes place on the voyage from Malacca to China in 1552. The ship, the Portuguese caravel *S^{te}. Cruz*, is brought to a standstill, Xavier is let down the

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side of the vessel by two men and touches the water with his foot, blessing it, and makes it fresh and drinkable. The side of the ship with its crowd of brightly coloured figures fills the canvas. Portuguese, Hindoos, Moham-medans, Indian and Arabian sailors, as well as black slaves, inhabitants of the Moluccas, and a Chinaman are mixed together in a gaily coloured medley. Some porcelain water pots, a blue and white basin, a drinking-cup of Celadon ware and a jug are also of interest.

Pictures Nos. 16 and 17 are perhaps more remarkable, though without any direct bearing on India.

No. 16. "Xavier's Disputation with Native Bonzes in Bungo."

The picture represents the Saint disputing with the priests, at the court of Otomo Yoshishige, the Daimyo of Bungo. Round him stand and sit the bonzes, on the right behind the Buddhist monks are two *Samurai*, and between the Renaissance pillars of the hall behind the barriers press the eager people.

At the time when the pictures of Xavier in St. Roque were painted, Europeans, with the exception of the Dutch, who were allowed to trade on the small island of Deshima near Nagasaki, were banned on pain of death from landing in Japan. This explains some of the painter's inaccuracies. That the bonzes should be seated on stools is at variance with Japanese custom; again, the robes of the priests as also of the *Samurai* are wrongly draped, the right side being gathered over the left shoulder instead of vice versa. The Buddhist monks, clean-shaven and with closely cropped heads, wear the three usual articles of clothing: the white undergarment, the dark garment over it, and the brocade stole. The latter, however, a narrow yellow, grey or red band, which descends from the left shoulder to the hip, resembles more closely the stole of a Catholic deacon than that employed by Japanese bonzes.

The two *Samurai* on the right wear the white undergarment, a violet kimono and another over it, green and black respectively. The last is definitely shorter, and this again does not correspond to the Japanese mode. The practice of the Jesuits is to wear the mantle shorter than the gown; hence the painter's error. Instead of shoes the *Samurai* quite rightly wear the Japanese *Tabi*, the short boots made of cloth, and in their girdles may be seen the two swords, *katana* and *wakisashi*. The front of the head is shaved, the hair of the poll is gathered together in a tight knot above the head. This was the usual practice in Japan till the middle of the 16th century.

No. 17. "Xavier raises a Japanese Girl from the dead in Bungo."

This is, again, one of the smaller pictures and therefore less rich in figures. The *palanquin*, in which the dead girl was borne in a sitting posture, has been lowered to the ground. She wears a long shroud resembling at once a European chemise and a Japanese kimono. Life has just returned to her limbs and she folds her hands in prayer. The clothing of the other figures differs in no important respect from that described in the foregoing pictures. One of the Japanese wears a white head-band.

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The four pictures we have just described contribute decidedly less than the others to the historical study of costume. This may be accounted for by the fact that reports from Japan had circulated far less freely than from India. Perhaps, again, we have in these pictures, which are technically weaker than the others, *studio works which Reinoso had only sketched in outline*. In any case the whole series of Xavier pictures in the sacristy of St. Roque are of great significance in the light of their connexion with the East and would well repay a more detailed study than can be given in this slight essay.

THE WESTWARD MOVEMENT OF THE ART OF PRINTING

TURKESTAN, PERSIA, AND EGYPT AS MILESTONES
IN THE LONG MIGRATION FROM CHINA TO EUROPE

BY THOMAS F. CARTER

While modern science with its electricity and its steam is fast bringing the Far East and the West together in one cultural unity, modern archæology is revealing the fact that this cultural unity is not altogether new. Over the Great Silk Ways that bound China to the Roman Orient, and later to the Caliphate, cultural streams were flowing in both directions long before the peoples at either end of the line knew very much of the existence of those at the other. Recent excavations in Turkestan, together with improved facilities for the study of Chinese sources, are gradually making it possible to trace certain of these currents across the length of Asia. Perhaps soon we shall be able to evaluate something of the debt that Europe owes to Chinese inventiveness, and also that which China has owed to these early contacts with the West. Such study as has been done would seem to indicate that peaches, apricots, silk, paper, playing cards, gunpowder, the compass and porcelain, as well as printing, are among China's early gifts to the West, while grapes and carrots, Mohammedanism and Nestorian Christianity, and certain impulses from Greek art are some of the things that China received in return. Spinach and chess apparently started in the region of India and moved in both directions.

No invention has been studied in its early history with such minuteness, or has been the occasion of so many learned books, as the invention of printing. But such study has, strange to say, been confined to the invention of printing in Europe. Its Asiatic antecedents, though usually admitted, have been ignored. Among several thousand titles on the history of printing in the great library at Berlin, for instance, there is just one title that refers to China—an article in a learned magazine that appeared in Paris in 1848. The study of this unexplored field is rendered fascinating by the discoveries of recent archæological research.

The word printing is used in this paper in its broad sense. The form of printing that has always held sway in the Far East is not typography, but an art known as xylography, or block printing, the making of a whole page from one block. Xylography was the usual form of printing in China, and xylography in almost exactly the same form spread through Central Europe during the half century or more before Gutenberg, so that it became the foundation on which Gutenberg's invention was based. Though China had discovered the use of movable type in the 11th century, and though some wooden type, dating from about 1300, was found by M. Pelliot at Tun Huang, the non-alphabetic character of the Chinese script made block printing more practical and usual than typography, and there is no clear evidence that the use of movable type in Europe was connected with the Chinese invention except through common ancestry, through a common origin in block

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printing. It is block printing therefore whose path from China toward Europe we shall attempt roughly to trace.

Block printing in China goes back at least as far as the 8th century of our era. Some very crude examples of the art—Buddhist charms in the Sanskrit language and Chinese character—were printed by the Empress Shotoku of Japan in order to save her soul in the year 770, and several of them are now in the British Museum. The oldest printed book is also in the British Museum. It is a Buddhist classic found by Sir Aurel Stein in the Cave of the Thousand Buddhas, and bears the date 868. But it was not till after the Confucian classics had been printed by imperial order in the middle of the 10th century that printing came to be general in China. The next centuries, the period that is naturally associated in our minds with the Norman Conquest and Magna Charta, was the time when printing in China was at its best, when all of China's great literature was printed. It was a time, too, when China was financially largely on a paper money basis, and when sometimes the printers of paper money were almost as busy as they have been in Germany during the past years.

There is every indication that it was in the western part of China that printing began, and that it started to spread westward about as soon as it became general through China. The famous library or manuscript chamber, sealed up and forgotten some nine hundred years ago, and found by Stein in 1907, contained not only the world's oldest printed book mentioned above, but a number of other prints as well, dating in the main from the 10th century. This ancient library was at Tun Huang, in a little spur of China that extends far out into the Turkestan desert.

BLOCK PRINTING IN THE OASIS OF TURFAN

If we consider Tun Huang as a part of China rather than a stage on the westward journey, the most important finds along the route from China to Europe are those of Grünwedel and Le Coq in and about the Oasis of Turfan. Though Turfan is in Chinese Turkestan and only a few hundred miles from the Chinese city of Tun Huang, it has from the earliest times had a racial and cultural development so entirely different from that of China that it is necessary to pause and see what sort of a place Turfan was and what was the significance of this cosmopolitan centre in the westward march of the art of printing.

The Oasis of Turfan is a strange depression in the earth's surface, almost as deep as the Dead Sea, and surrounded on all sides except the east by high mountains. The modern name of the immense territory in which the oasis is situated, Chinese Turkestan, indicates two of the many peoples whose cultures blended in this ancient region. But they were not all. The earliest inhabitants of the oasis within historic times were a people related in race and language to ourselves. In the early years of the Christian era this Indo-European folk were converted to Buddhism, but Manichean and Christian missionaries who came later into the country claimed also a goodly number of followers, and the three religions seem to have lived side by side in the oasis with a good deal of harmony. In the 7th century Turfan was

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conquered by China, but though the oasis remained for several hundred years a loosely controlled outpost of the Chinese Empire, this connection did not interfere with the development of a very unique type of eclectic culture. More important was the conquest of the country in the 9th century by a Turkish tribe called the Uigurs, for these Uigurs made the town of Idikut, near Turfan, their capital, and made the old Indo-European civilization that they found very thoroughly their own.

From the time of its conquest by the Uigur Turks, Turfan, located as it was in the very centre of Asia, may be said to have been the focal point where the culture streams of Asia met; open on the south and west to the religious influences of India, Persia, and Syria; on the east to the political hegemony of China; and on the north forming the cultural centre of a loose empire that stretched far away over nomad tribes of Mongolia and Siberia. Uigur civilization came to its height in the 9th and 10th centuries of our era, but Turfan remained an important centre until after its conquest under Jinghis Khan.

It is the mingling of races and religions that gives to the Turfan discoveries their peculiar fascination and their importance. Chinese and swarthy Indians, Turks, and blue-eyed, fair-haired mountaineers of a stock that seems wonderfully European, all stand out clearly in their wall frescoes, while the character of the art itself is a blending of that of China and that of India with various Western art impulses from Persia and Greece. Nor is there less mingling in the domain of religion. Side by side stood Christian churches and Buddhist temples, while in these Buddhist temples Manicheans, the representatives of St. Augustine's early religion, seem also to have worshipped. Manicheism was the religion of the royal house, Buddhism that of the majority of the people, Nestorian Christianity that of the minority; the Confucian culture of the Chinese overlords made little impression.

Needless to say, Turfan was a polyglot community. Seventeen different languages are represented among the documents found by the Prussian expedition. Some of these appear in as many as four or five different alphabets. There seems to have been a mania for fitting new alphabets to languages to see which was best suited.

In this melting pot of race, language and religion with its high valuation of literature and art, block printing early found itself at home. Block-printed Buddhist texts and wood-cuts, sometimes in great quantity, were found in each of the many sites excavated. Most of these block prints are in small fragments, as they have had to be rescued from crumpled and torn deposits in the ruined monasteries, whose libraries seem wantonly to have been cut to pieces by some persecuting hand. One notable exception, however, is the monastery at Murtuk, in which a large portion of the best preserved block prints were found.

The block prints from the region of Turfan, though all are undated and though a few seem to bear evidence of an earlier date, seem to belong in the main to the early Mongol period and the period just before the beginning of Mongol domination—in other words, to the 13th and early 14th centuries, the period just before block printing appeared in Europe. Printing seems to have reached a climax at this time

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and then to have come to an end, as the whole culture of the Turfan basin ceased with the drain of its man power brought about through the Mongol campaigns.

Six languages are used in the Turfan block prints. The larger number are in Chinese, Sanskrit, and Uigur-Turkish, while a few are in Tangut, Tibetan, and Mongol.

The Uigur books and fragments are in the Sogdian alphabet, an alphabet brought from Syria about the time of our era, and later taken over by the Uigurs when they conquered the land. The language is pure Turkish, which, though not the direct ancestor of modern Ottoman, presents a striking likeness to it. As the books are all translations of Buddhist sutras, they contain many transliterations of Sanskrit names and words. Where this occurs, the Sanskrit original is printed in between the lines, much as English words are introduced in a modern Japanese text. The page numbers in Uigur printed books are as a rule in Chinese, as is also the title of the book, which appears every few pages at the side of the page. These Buddhist printed books in a Turkish language, with Sanskrit notes and Chinese page numbers in a script brought from Syria, are in themselves an epitome of the eclectic character of the Uigur civilization and of the international aspect that the art of printing has always borne.

The books of Turfan offer an interesting study in the competition that was going on between different book forms : the roll which was the earlier form both in China and in the West; the folded book, like an American railway time-table, which under the influence of printing had gradually displaced the roll in China; the stitched book with pages which had earlier displaced the roll in Syria and Egypt; and the Indian form called *pothi*, which consisted of long strips of bark or paper held together by a thong between two boards. All these forms are represented in the Turfan block books except the stitched book with pages. This omission is interesting, as Christian stitched books had circulated at Turfan for some time before block printing came into use. The stitched book reached China about the 11th century, and most of the early printed books from China are in this more modern form. Somehow the Buddhist has never taken kindly to this form of book. In Turfan it was used in the main by Christians; in China it was the mark of Confucian and secular literature, and as such came to be the usual form as in the West. The Buddhist printers always preferred the folded book, or sometimes in Central Asia the Indian *pothi*, or else some intermediate form.

The great significance of the printing of the Uigur-Turks lies in the fact that the Uigur civilization lay at the basis of such culture as the new Mongol Empire possessed. The incorporation of the Uigur realm was one of the first achievements of Jinghis. From that time not only did the Uigurs form a large part of the Mongol army, they were also the Mongol brains. It was Uigurs who reduced the Mongol language to writing and applied to it their own alphabet. It was Uigurs who did such writing as was needed at the Mongol court. As Turfan, drained of its man power for the Mongol armies, dwindled in importance, its culture was transferred bodily to Karakorum and became the basis of the culture of the rising Mongol

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power, till it was gradually displaced at the eastern end of the empire by the higher civilization of China, and at the western end by that of Islam. During the lightning campaigns of the Mongols in Western Asia, it was the culture of the Uigur-Turks that followed the Mongol armies, and the Uigur-Turks were a people that knew well how to print.

BLOCK PRINTING IN PERSIA

The Mongol armies overran Persia several times during the middle of the 13th century. In 1258 Bagdad was taken, and the caliphate, for the time being, destroyed. A large part of the Islamic world came under Mongol domination, while the civil offices in the newly acquired realm were apt to be placed in Uigur hands. Tabriz, the new Mongol capital of Persia, gradually took the place that Bagdad had held as the commercial and cultural centre of Western Asia. Under the strong rulers who held sway in Western Asia, deriving their authority from the Grand Khan, all parts of Asia came into a close contact that had never been known before. A Chinese general was the first governor of Bagdad after its conquest, and Chinese engineers were employed for irrigation in the Tigris valley, while a Turk from North China was made the Christian patriarch of Bagdad.

Moreover, this conglomerate, cosmopolitan empire, which held sway from the Pacific to Damascus, was face to face with Europe through the Crusades and the trade of Italian cities that followed in the wake of the Crusades. Tabriz had not only its Uigur quarter and its Chinese quarter, it had also its Venetian and Genoese colonies, the latter large enough to be governed as a separate unit by a council of twenty-four elders.

Embassies were sent from the Court of Tabriz, both to China and to Europe. The Great Seal, without which no document issued by the ruler of Persia could be legally binding, was sent from Peking and its impress was in Chinese characters, as is witnessed by a number of impressions from this seal on letters still in the archives of Rome and Paris, letters brought by the Khan's ambassadors seeking alliance against their common enemies, the Moslems. These Chinese seal impressions, some of them more than five inches square, were the nearest approach to block printing that Europe had yet seen.

The one record of Chinese block printing in the Islamic world before the days of Gutenberg, is at Tabriz, the Mongol capital of Persia, in the year 1294. In that year—the very year, by the way, in which Marco Polo passed through Tabriz on his homeward journey and delivered safely the princess from Peking who had been committed to his charge—in that year the Mongol government of Persia made a large issue of paper money, printed in Arabic, but with also a few Chinese characters. The issue was unsuccessful; it resulted in riots and in the death of the Grand Vizier who had been its sponsor, for the paper money was unsupported by any reserve that should guarantee its value. But it was successful in bringing vividly before a great cosmopolitan community a method by which any desired text could be cheaply and rapidly duplicated, and it is interesting as indicating that there must

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have been Chinese printers at Tabriz ready to execute the order for this issue of paper money.

Just after the failure of the paper money of 1294, Gazan Khan, the most cultured and probably the ablest of the Mongol rulers of Persia, came to the throne. It is said that the new ruler was able to use eight languages, including Chinese, Uigur, Arabic, and, according to one authority, Latin. Though Gazan Khan was the first of the Mongol rulers of Persia to embrace Islam and thus secure the loyalty of his subjects, and in spite of the fact that he threw off all allegiance to Peking, Gazan was able to maintain close relations both with the Peking Court and with various rulers of Europe. Letters that have been preserved from Edward II of England and from James of Aragon still regard him as a most Christian king ready to join them in hostility to the hated Saracens.

Gazan was distinctly all things to all men. So was his Prime Minister, Rashid-eddin, who came to power in the year 1300. This Prime Minister was entrusted with the task of writing a history of the Mongols, which soon developed into a history of Islam as well, and even a history of the world, by far the most comprehensive world history that had yet been seen, and almost the only history down to our own day that has included Chinese, Moslem, and European sources all within the compass of one work. The work starts naturally with Creation and gives a marvellous time-table of hours by which the Creator was able to finish his task on Thursday night in order to rest on the proper rest day on Friday. It also notes enough of European history to tell of the recent victories of England over the Scotch and to mention the fact that Ireland had no snakes. But the chief interest of this great compendium of history for our purposes is the full and clear description that it gives of Chinese printing, the earliest description that has yet been found outside of Chinese sources, and a century and a half before the time of Gutenberg.

In spite, however, of the fact that paper money had been printed at Tabriz and that printing had been accurately described in Rashid's history, the new art apparently made little headway among literary circles in the Arabic speaking world. Aside from Rashid, no Moslem writer mentions it except in scattered notices of the printing of paper money, nor is there any indication that Arabic literary works were printed. In fact, there is strong negative evidence in Rashid's own life, for in his will he left a large amount of money to have two copies of his history transcribed each year, one in Persian and one in Arabic, until every large city in the Islamic world should have a copy deposited in its mosque. The idea of having such literature as this printed seems never to have occurred to him. It seems likely that if printing passed to Europe by way of Persia, it was the printing of charms, paper money, crude pictures and playing cards, rather than that of literary productions, that passed that way.

BLOCK PRINTING IN EGYPT

It has generally been thought that the Islamic world was a barrier between the Far East that knew the art of printing and Europe which had not yet discovered the art. This is in the main true. While the Arabs of Samarkand seized with avidity

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the Chinese art of paper making, and while Arabic writers extolled the virtues of the new writing material, these writers never once mentioned the art of printing. Even down to the 19th century the Koran had not been printed in Moslem countries and down to our own day the prejudice against printing has continued. Some have suggested that the use of pigs' bristles in the block printer's brush and the danger that the name of Allah should be profanely touched by this brush was at the back of the Moslem antipathy in its beginnings. However that may be, apart from the record of the paper money of Tabriz, no mention has yet been found in any Arabic writer of printing in Moslem countries in pre-Gutenberg days.

Till recently this omission was thought to be sufficient evidence that the Arabs never printed. Against this view, however, stand some dozens of block prints found forty odd years ago near the ruins of the ancient city of Arsinoë in the region of El-Faijum in Egypt. Strange to say, while these block prints are carefully described in the catalogue of the Erzherzog Rainer Collection in Vienna, written by the eminent Arabist, Karabacek, they have apparently been unnoticed by most of those *who have written on the history of printing*. An examination of these block prints at Vienna, and of others which have found their way to Berlin and Heidelberg, reveals some interesting and significant facts. In the first place there can be no doubt that these Egyptian block prints show distinct Chinese influence. They are made like the Chinese block prints, not by pressure but by the use of the brush; the ink too is the same as that of China and Turkestan. Furthermore, like the earliest prints of China, they consist altogether of charms and of excerpts from religious literature.

On the other hand, the religious literature is here not Buddhist sutras, but the Koran. The language and script of all the fragments is Arabic except for a few words in Coptic character. The art had evidently made itself at home in its new surroundings.

These fragments of Egyptian block printing, though few in number, present endless variety; some are large, some are small; some are coarse and rough, some are of the finest, most perfect workmanship; some are crude charms; some are sections of the Koran. But more important than all other differences, from the historian's point of view, is the variety of Arabic script which they contain. Some are in a script no longer in use after the 9th century, others in a script that did not begin until the 14th, and there is a great variety of intermediate forms. From archaeological data it can be established that all of the finds are earlier than 1350. Further than this there is no evidence for dating other than script, and even here the possibility that early written models may have been used by printers of a later date must not be lost sight of.

These Egyptian block prints present a complete puzzle to the archaeologist. Whence and how did block printing come? For the coming of paper into the Arabic world we have clear documentary evidence—it crossed the mountains from the Chinese cultural domain to the Moslem city of Samarkand in the wake of a military campaign in the year 751. For printing we have no such record—nothing but the

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prints themselves to tell the tale. Did they too come across the mountains and the deserts from Central Asia during the wave of Turkish migration to Mesopotamia and Egypt that began in the 9th century and continued for several hundred years? or did the Chinese influence come by the sea route in the wake of Chinese trade, which already in the T'ang dynasty had become important? or is it possible that the block prints found must all be given a later date and that the new art came into the Moslem world in the train of the Mongol conquest? To these questions it is impossible as yet to give an answer. All that can be said is that at the end of the period of the Crusades, and probably through the whole of the period of the Crusades, printing was going on in Egypt. It was an obscure art of the common people, not heralded in literature any more than was the early block printing of Europe. In fact, block printing in China had had equally obscure beginnings. In China, in Egypt, and in Europe printing began as a poor man's art, an art that enabled him to satisfy his religious cravings without the expense of manuscripts and paintings. Whether this obscure printing extended over a larger area of the Moslem world, and has been preserved only in Egypt on account of the desert climate, it is impossible to say. All we know is that these block prints exist, and that somehow, in a way which the future will perhaps more clearly reveal, they seem to form a link between the printing of China and that of Europe.

It is not the purpose of this article to prove that the route by which printing entered Europe was through Turkestan, Persia, and Egypt, or through any one of these countries. No accurate and certain tracing of the route can yet be attempted. The probability seems to be that the knowledge of printing passed into Europe by many different channels, and that we shall never be able to trace with entire accuracy these hidden ways. The earliest mention of Chinese printing by a European writer—the Italian historian, Jovius, just a century after Gutenberg—states that the new art came by way of Russia, or, as a quaint old English manuscript now in St. Bride's Library translates it, "The art of printing was brought to Europe by the Muscovites and Scythians from the Indians of Cathay." Others who may have had something to do with the advent of printing to Europe were the missionaries sent from Rome and Avignon, who came to China immediately after Marco Polo's return, and who record the fact that they translated the New Testament and Psalter and prepared many pictures for the unlearned. Realizing, as we now do, that in these pre-Renaissance days it was Europe that was unlearned rather than China, it would be interesting to know whether these first missionaries had their translations and their pictures printed, as other literature in China was being printed, and whether they may have had something to do with carrying the art to Europe. It would also be interesting to know how much playing cards—moving westward from China at the same time—may have had to do with the progress of printing. All that can be done to-day is to indicate these many points of connexion, which during the time of the Mongols bound China and Europe together, without seeking to decide over which or how many of the various ways the art of printing actually travelled.

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The Gutenberg-Coster controversy is but a part of a far larger international problem, for every leading nation of Asia and the European continent has had a part in the invention of printing. China first discovered paper and the art of block printing, and first experimented with movable type. The earliest block prints extant are in the Sanskrit language and made in Japan. Korea first used metal type. The Arabs carried paper manufacture from China to Europe. People of the Turkish race had the largest share in carrying block printing westward, and the earliest extant type is in a Turkish tongue. Persia and Egypt are the two lands of the Near East where block printing is known to have been carried on before it reached Europe. Spain was the first country in Europe to manufacture paper, France the first in Christendom, and Italy the first to manufacture it on a large scale. As to the transmission of block printing into Europe, Russia's claim rests on the oldest documentary evidence, though Italy's claim is fully as strong. Germany, Italy, and Bohemia were the earliest centres of European block printing activity, Holland and France claim first to have experimented with movable type. Germany under Gutenberg perfected European typography, and from Germany it spread through Europe. Great Britain and the United States, the nations which do the bulk of the world's printing to-day, are the two great nations which had no part in the history of printing before the days of Gutenberg.

NOTES ON THE PLATES ILLUSTRATING THE ARTICLE

PLATE 14. The World's Oldest Book.

Found by Sir Aurel Stein in the Cave of the Thousand Buddhas at Tun Huang, and now in the British Museum. The roll is sixteen feet long by one foot wide, made of six sheets of paper pasted together. This illustration represents the end of the roll, with the dated inscription. It reads, "Made by Wang Chieh for free distribution in order to do honour to his parents, on the fifteenth day of the fourth month of the period Chien T'ung (A.D. 868)."

PLATE 15, Fig. A. Metal Stamp for making Seated Buddhas, with Nimbus.

These stamped Buddhas preceded block printing, both in China and in Central Asia.

(Found at Chotscho. Height 6 cm.)

PLATE 15, Fig. B. Fragment of Roll of Stamped Buddhas.

Large numbers of such rolls, impressed on thin paper, have been found in various places in Central Asia, and illustrate the way in which the Buddhist passion for reduplication prepared the way for printing. One such roll in the British Museum contains 468 impressions, all from the same stamp.

(Found at Sangim ayiz, near Turfan. Size 15.5 x 22 cm.)

PLATE 16, Fig. A. Buddhist Woodcut, with short Text in Uigur.

(Found at Murtuk. 22 x 32 cm.)

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PLATE 16, Fig. B. Buddhist Woodcut, with Chinese Text.
From near Turfan.

PLATE 17, Fig. A. Two Leaves from a Folded Book in the Uigur Language.

The heading is in both Uigur and Chinese. The two circles indicate that the original manuscript from which this was copied was in the Indian form known as *pothi*, i.e. with the pages laid together and bound through with a thong. The printers copied the original so faithfully that they even represented in print the hole for the thong, though in this folded form no thong was used.

(Found at Chotscho. 56 × 24 cm.)

PLATE 17, Fig. B. Chinese Block Book, with Buddhist Text.

Two leaves from a sutra in verse, in "folded book" form. The originals of this and the six preceding illustrations were found by the expeditions of Grünwedel and Le Coq in the region of Turfan. Their dating is uncertain, but must in all cases be earlier than 1350 A.D.

(Found at Kurukta, north of Turfan. Size 25.3 × 18.5 cm.)

PLATE 18, Fig. A. A 14th Century Bank Note.

Dating from the reign of Hung Wu (1368–1399) and probably from the year 1375. Printed in black on heavy paper of dark slate colour, with seal impressions in red. Value one thousand cash.

(Found in the Imperial Palace at Peking. Size 32 × 21 cm.)

PLATE 18, Fig. B. An Arabic Block Print from Egypt.

Date uncertain. Before 1350. Probably much earlier.

(Found near el-USchmûnein.)

PLATE 19. Page from a German Block Book of the 15th Century.

DĪPAKA RĀGA

BY A. COOMARASWAMY

The best text of a Rāgmālā known to me is that of British Museum MS. Or. 2821. Practically identical with this is that of the Lipperheid'sche Bibliothek, Berlin, 1474. The British Museum MS. is of late 17th or early 18th century date, the Berlin early 19th century. The same text is represented in two early 17th century Rāginīs (S. 3) in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. The British Museum text further exhibits partial correspondences, but by no mean an identity with the texts of S. 1 and S. 2 in the Museum of Fine Arts and in the Fogg Art Museum of late 16th or very early 17th century date.¹

Unfortunately Dīpaka Rāga is missing in British Museum Or. 2821; another text is found in British Museum Or. Add. 26550. I publish here a picture of Dīpaka Rāga dateable about 1630-1640, with a text which I believe to belong to that of British Museum Or. 2821: in both we find five lines of *Kavitta* and two of *dohā*, and the language is similar. Dīpaka Rāga is concerned with the element of fire, and a story is told in India of a musician compelled to perform in this mode, who burst into flames, which could not be extinguished even though he sprang into the waters of the Jamna. If such effects are not produced to-day, it is ascribed to the imperfections of modern practice. In the pictures for Dīpaka Rāgini the theme, treated with slight variations (the example illustrated here is the most elaborate known to me), is that of a prince with his sweetheart, seated in a palace, with attendant maidens; a flame burns upon his brow, and the palace itself is brilliantly illuminated. As the poem here translated shows, the flame is correlated with the fire of passion.

Rāga Dīpaka : dohā :

*Kākhado rāga Dhanāsrī Barārī (a)ru Basanta,
Desa Barārī rāga mīlī Dīpaka keli karata.*

Campani :

*Dīpaka nṛpati dharai chabi bhāri, begala bijoī mastaka ujyāri,
Rājata mahala suramga rasa māhi, sakhi samga rukha keli karāhi.
Gahai cira kara pī khūlārai, da (f) vata pavana Manamatha visatāri,
Gahai uraja pīya prīti badhāi, mānāil bahumāna badhāi.
Prama lāpa g(f)ano adhikāi, dāmpati kokila sūbda sunāi.*

Dohā :

*Dāho vasana nava jobana umagi, navālā navala sabhaga
Dekhata mana ānadmā badhāo, yaha chabi Dīpaka Rāga. 18.*

Translation :

Dohā :

Dīpaka disports in the company of Kākhād, Dhanāsrī, Barārī, Basanta and Desa-Barārī.

Campani :

*Dīpaka is a prince endowed with great beauty, there shines on his head a flickering flame ;
In a palace resplendent with the hue of passion, he sports at ease with a dear companion (sakhi).*

¹ The Rāgmālā series, S. 1, S. 2, S. 3, are referred to in *Hindī Rāgmālā Texts*, due to appear in the next number of the J.A.O.S.

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*Laying hands on her dress, he woos her wildly, Kāmadeva diffuses a burning breath of desire,
Clasping her closely, affection increases, he waxes more bold.
There is utmost virtue of the shyness of love, voices of the pair murmuring like cuckoos.*

Dohā :

*The palace is aflame with a glad assembly of young people, youth and maiden young and fair,
The heart rejoices at the sight, this is the beauty (or, the picture) of Dīpaka Rāga.*

The inscription is good deal rubbed and the reading in the two places indicated by a query is conjectural. As regards the translation, in the last half of the fourth line of the *caupāī* I have only been able to suggest the sense : *mānaiti* may be *mānitā*, pride, or from *māna*, with *tī*, a poetical form of *triya*, woman or there may be an error, the original word having been *mānanī*. Unfortunately no other text is available for comparison.

A DOCUMENT IN MING PORCELAIN

BY WILLIAM KING

The bottle here illustrated (No. 237-1892 in the Victoria and Albert Museum) is of blue and white Chinese porcelain, 9½ inches high, and painted with a design of ducks among lotuses and a double band of hieroglyphic inscription. Above this is a necklace of pendent jewels, below are two Buddhist emblems fastened with ribbons. The neck has at some period been broken and repaired with a metal stopper.

The significance of the inscription has only lately come to light.¹ When looked at from above it forms, as may be seen from the illustration, a succession of almost construable Portuguese words, reading as follows: "ISTO MANDOU FAZER JORGE ANRZ N/A ERA DE 1557 REINA[ND. . .]." The bottle was clearly ordered by a European who supplied the lettering to the Chinese decorator; such an arrangement is common enough in the 18th century and generally leads, as here, to orthographical and other mistakes. A Chinaman copies a European inscription as he copies a European engraving, and all his good will does not save him from lapsing out of accuracy through sheer incomprehension. Thus in the present case there is no indication of the intervals between one word and the next, meaningless dots interpose themselves against the numerals of the date and in other places, and the legend ceases abruptly in the middle of a word.

The decipherment of the legend postulates three further errors on the part of the Chinese copyist, the substitution of ISTO for ISTU and of FAZER for FAZER, and the silly disruption of NA between the two separate lines. If these be granted, the inscription reads: "Isto mandou fazer Jorge Anrzs na era de 1557 reina [ndo . . .]," which is admirable Portuguese for "Jorge Anrzs ordered this to be made in the year 1557 during the reign of . . .", Anrzs being a natural abridgment of the common patronymic Anriquez.

Had such an inscription been found upon a piece of 18th century porcelain, the natural inference would have been that it was painted in China from a manuscript supplied by some person in Europe who had ordered the object through the East India Company. At this early date the state of intercourse between East and West does not allow such an explanation, and the bottle is obviously a document in the history of the first European ventures in China. The Portuguese found their way to Canton in 1517, and in 1557, the year in which this bottle was ordered, they were permitted to form a settlement in Macao. There can be little doubt that Jorge Anriquez was one of these earliest Portuguese travellers to the Far East and that he ordered his bottle during his stay in China from the imperial factory of Ching-tê-chên.

There seems no reason for doubting that it was made, as well as ordered, in the year 1557, during the reign of the Emperor Chia Ching (1522-1566). The several motives of the decoration, the red hue of the exposed foot, the brilliant blue, tending

¹ In this connection I must acknowledge having received valuable assistance from Dr. Henry Thomas, of the British Museum; Mr. Stephen Gaselee, C.B.E., Librarian at the Foreign Office; Mr. A. Van de Put, of the Victoria and Albert Museum; and Mr. Royall Tyler.

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to run and flecked with passages of rusty brown, are all familiar features in the porcelain of the 16th century. The occurrence of ducks and lotuses, a design which is not mentioned in Chinese records until the reign of Wan Li (1573-1619), is a small additional confirmation of Mr. R. L. Hobson's contention (*Chinese Pottery and Porcelain*, Vol. II, p. 60) that the date at which a pattern first appears in Chinese documents is not necessarily the date of its origination.

The mark is *Ta Ming nien tsao* (made in the great Ming period), surrounded by the customary double circle. This mark exhibits two characteristics which are certainly unusual, the omission of any emperor's name and the use of the word *tsao* (for "made") instead of the more ordinary *chih*. No examination of the relative frequency of the various marks on Chinese porcelain has ever been attempted, and it is impossible therefore to determine what, if any, significance attaches to either feature. It may be remarked that neither in itself is peculiar to the Ming dynasty; the word *tsao* is found both before and after this date, while the mark *Ta Ming nien chih* appears on a dish (No. 178-1879) in the Victoria and Albert Museum, with gold decoration on a powder-blue ground, which can be ascribed beyond hesitation to the reign of K'ang Hsi. No such ascription is possible for this bottle, the calligraphy of whose mark bears attractive witness to the truth of the story round its neck. It is sad that we shall never know what was its fate in the years intervening between 1557 when it was ordered by Jorge Anriquez and 1892 when it was bought by the Museum from a dealer in Constantinople.

DR. F. R. MARTIN'S M.S. "TREATISE ON AUTOMATA"

BY K. A. C. CRESWELL

Undoubtedly the most discussed set of Mohammedan miniatures is that belonging to a manuscript from the Library of Sancta Sophia at Constantinople, which was for a time in the possession of Dr. F. R. Martin.¹ The date has been a subject of controversy. Karabacek² and Martin³ have maintained that it is of the 12th century, as in one of the miniatures (Plate 23) is a bird above a cup, on which is an inscription with the name and titles of the Ortuqide Sultan Nūr ad-Dīn Muḥammad, who died in 581 H. (1185).⁴ Blochet⁵ and Anet⁶ have disputed the date suggested by Martin, as two other miniatures⁷ contain words of praise in the name of al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ṣalāḥ ad-Dunya wad-Dīn, which must refer to one of the two Bahrite Mamlūks of Egypt, Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ, who reigned from 752 to 755 (1351-1354), or Malik as-Ṣāliḥ Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn Haggi, 783-784 (1381-1382), probably the former. Martin's contention that Saladin is referred to is untenable, as in that case the words would run al-Malik an-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ ad-Dunya wad-Dīn, as we learn from his inscriptions.⁸

Of these miniatures the one which has attracted most attention is that reproduced in Plate 23. It shows what appears to be a gateway with five musicians, one sitting and the rest standing; two are beating drums, two are blowing trumpets about seven

¹ The MS. is only a fragment, it lacks a title-page and consists of eight or nine leaves only. It has since been dispersed, MM. V. Goloubew, Léonce Rosenberg, Meyer-Riefstahl, Sambon, and Mutiaux each possessing one of the miniatures, which they exhibited at Paris in 1912. See G. Marteau and H. Vever, *Miniatures persanes exposées au Musée des Arts décoratifs, Juin-Oct., 1912*, planches II (coloured), XXXIX, XL, XLI, and XLII. Mr. Bernard Berenson possesses another.

² *Zur orientalischen Altertumskunde*, in the *Sitzungsberichte der K. Akad. der Wissenschaften in Wien*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, CLVII (1907), pp. 22-23.

³ *Meisterwerke mohammedanischer Kunst*, text to Taf. 3, and his *Miniature Painters of Persia*, pp. 7, 10-12, and 138.

⁴ His name and titles likewise appear on the guard page, also reproduced in the *Meisterwerke*, Taf. 3 (to left).

⁵ *Peintures des manuscrits arabes à types byzantins*, in the *Revue archéologique*, IVe série, tome IX, p. 210 ff.

⁶ *Exhibition of Persian Miniatures at the Musée des Arts décoratifs, Paris*, in the *Burlington Magazine*, XXII, p. 16; and Dr. F. R. Martin and *Oriental Painting*, "Le traité des Automates," *ibid.*, XXIII, pp. 49-50.

⁷ One is reproduced in Martin's *Miniature Painters*, Plate 2, the other in the *Meisterwerke*, Taf. 3 (to right); Marteau and Vever, *op. cit.*, planche XXXIX, and in Blochet's memoir, *loc. cit.*, Figs. 5 and 9. The inscription in each case runs round a little dome.

⁸ On the Bāb al-Mudarrag of the Citadel of Cairo (published by Mehren, *Cahiraḥ og Korāfat*, I, pp. 18-19; Casanova, *Citadelle*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission archéologique française au Caire*, VI, pp. 569-571; and van Berchem, *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, I, pp. 80-86); another, now lost, which was copied by Lane and published by van Berchem (*op. cit.*, pp. 726-728); and his four inscriptions at Qal'a Guindi in Sinai (published by Wiet in *Syria*, III, pp. 59-62). For others see Wiet, *Les inscriptions de Saladin*, *ibid.*, III, pp. 307-328.

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feet long, and the fifth is playing some other instrument. In each spandrel of the arch is a bird above a cup, on which is the inscription in the name of Nūr ad-Dīn Muḥammad. Karabacek jumped to the conclusion that this Prince bore an owl as his coat of arms.¹ Blochet, on the other hand, basing himself on another of the miniatures which also shows a similar bird above a cup, has concluded that it depicts the gate of a fortress, the Citadel of Cairo, in fact, and that the bird in question is the eagle, to-day headless, which may be seen on a great tower which overlooks the Bāb al-'Azab !² He adds that as Sultan al-Kāmel had for arms a double-headed eagle, the artist has perhaps been guilty of a slight error.³ Van Berchem, basing himself on Karabacek's sketch, has suggested, under reserve, that this bird, if heraldic, was probably a falcon (*baighu*), which was apparently the crest of Nūr ad-Dīn Muḥammad, since a somewhat similar bird is carved just beneath his inscription on the Aleppo Gate of Diyarbekr, and he is called the Falcon (*baighu*) in the inscription.⁴

All doubt as to the significance of this miniature has fortunately disappeared with the identification of the manuscript. Blochet originally thought that these leaves formed part of an Arabic translation of the well-known treatise on automata of Philo of Byzance,⁵ but, on learning later that the guard page contained the name of Nūr ad-Dīn Muḥammad, he came to the conclusion that it must be a copy of al-Jazāry's treatise on the same subject,⁶ as the latter wrote under the patronage of this Sultan.⁷ This is now certain as Wiedemann has called attention to the fact that the MS. of al-Jazāry in the Bodleian Library at Oxford (MS. Grav. 27) contains replicas of several of Martin's miniatures,⁸ including the one which is occupying our special attention (Plate 24, B). The upper part of this miniature is intended to represent a clepsydra, the construction of which is described in detail by the author. It corresponds, with wonderful exactitude, to that seen by Ibn Jubayr at the Bāb Jairūn (the eastern gate of the Great Mosque) at Damascus in 1186, at the very time when al-Jazāry was writing his work. I quote from Le Strange's version :⁹

¹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 22.

² This eagle is shown in Casanova's memoir (cited above), pl. X.

³ *Revue archéologique*, IVe série, tome IX, pp. 216-220.

⁴ See van Berchem and Strzykowski, *Amida*, pp. 79-82.

⁵ *Loc. cit.*, p. 210.

⁶ This opinion was communicated to Anet, and quoted by him in the *Burlington Magazine*, XXIII, p. 50.

⁷ The *Kitāb fi ma'rifat al-hijal al-handasiya* of Abū l-Izz Ismā'il ibn ar-Razzās al-Jazāry, was begun by him under the patronage of the Ortuqide Nūr ad-Dīn Muḥammad, c. 577 H (1181-2), and finished under his son Malik as-Sālih Nāṣir ad-Dīn Maḥmūd in 602 (1206). Ibn al-Athīr, *Hist. orientaux des Croisades*, pp. 79 and 98.

⁸ *Über die Uhren im Bereich der islamischen Kultur*, in the *Nova Acta of the Kaiserl. Leop.-Carol.-Deutschen Akad. der Naturforscher*, Band C, No. 5, p. 48 ff.

⁹ *Palestine under the Moslems*, pp. 249-250. (Also given from a second-hand source in de Sacy's notes to his translation of 'Abd al-Latif, pp. 578-579.) The only discrepancy consists in the transposition of the great arch, which Ibn Jubayr places above the arcade, a discrepancy which may easily be due to his having written down his account shortly afterwards, instead of on the spot.

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" On your right hand, coming out of the Bāb Jairūn, in the wall of the portico fronting you, is a gallery, which has the form of a great archway, and set round it are arches of brass, in which open small doors, in number according to the number of the hours of the day. Through the working of a piece of mechanism, when one hour of the day is passed, there fall two weights of brass from the mouths of two falcons fashioned in brass, who stand above two brazen cups, set one under each of the birds. One of the falcons is below the first of the doors, and the second below the last of them. Now the cups are perforated, and as soon as the balls have fallen, they run back through a hole in the wall to the gallery. The falcons appear to extend their necks when holding the balls, leaning towards the cups, and to throw the balls off with a quick motion, so wondrous to see that one would imagine it was magic. With the falling of the two balls into the two cups, there is heard a sound (as of striking) a bell; and thereupon the doorway, which pertains to the hour that has elapsed, is shut with a brass door. A similar action goes on for each of the hours of the day; and when all the hours of the day are passed, all the doors are shut. When all the (day) hours are passed, the mechanism returns to its first condition. For the hours of the night they have another mechanism. It is this—in the bow of the great arch, which goes over the (small) arches (with the doors), just mentioned, are twelve circles cut out in the brass, and over each of these openings, in the wall of the gallery, is set a plate of glass. Behind each glass is a lamp-glass, in which is water set to run for the space of one hour. When the hour is past, the light of the lamp, coming down, illumines the glass, and the rays shine out of the round opening in front of it, and it appears to the sight as a red circle. This same happens to each circle in turn, till all the hours of the night are passed, and then all the circles have red light in them. There are eleven workmen (belonging to the Mosque) who attend to this gallery, and keep the mechanism in order, and see to the opening of the doors, and the running back of the weights into their proper places. This (piece of mechanism) is what the people call *al-Mikaniyyah*."

This timepiece is very briefly described by Ibn Batūta in 1326,¹ who also mentions one in a church at Antioch.²

Automata and clocks of this sort had a tremendous fascination for the early Moslems; the palace of Harūn ar-Rashid was full of such toys, and the embassy sent to Charlemagne brought one which bore a striking resemblance to that described above. ". . . horologium ex auricalco arte mechanica mirifice compositum, in quo duodecim horarum cursus ad clepsidram vertebatur, cum totidem aereis pilulis, quae ad completionem horarum decidebant, et casu suo subjectum sibi cymbalum tinnire faciebant, additis in eodem ejusdem numeri equitibus, qui per duodecim fenestras completis horis exiebant, et impulsu egressionis suae totidem fenestras, quae prius erant apertae, claudebant; nec non et alia multa erant in ipso horologis, quae nunc enumerare longum est."³ As might be guessed from the name *al-Mikaniyyah* given by Ibn Jubayr to the horologe at the Bāb Jairūn, it was to the

¹ *Le Strange, op. cit.*, p. 271.

² *Ibid.*, p. 371.

³ Einhard, *Annales Laurissenses*, in Migne, *Patrologia*, CIV, col. 468.

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Greeks that they were indebted for such apparatus, in fact, al-Jazāry calls his clock the "clock of Archimedes," and Diels¹ has shown that the horologe of Gaza described by Procopius (c. 473-535) bore a remarkable resemblance to that described by al-Jazāry, and illustrated in the miniatures we have been discussing. It had the same twelve doors and the same twelve windows for use at night, and in the foreground were automata representing the Labours of Herakles (Fig. 1).

In our miniature, however, these figures have been replaced by five musicians, whose jointed limbs clearly show that they are automata also. What do they represent? I take them to be the *tabl-khāna* or orchestra, which struck up at certain hours, either at the gate of the Governor's Palace or the Great Mosque, after the almost contemporary (first half of 13th century) verse of Sadi's: "Till you hear in early morning from the Friday Mosque, or from the door of the Atabeg's Palace, the noise of the big drum."

I shall endeavour to trace back to its ultimate source the right to an orchestra or roll of drums in the official ceremonies of Eastern Royalty. It was originally the exclusive prerogative of the Khalif, coming immediately after the *khutba* and the right of coinage. The Buweihid Sultans, 334-447 (946-1055), were the first to exact this right from the Khalif, but whereas he enjoyed a roll of drums five times a day (i.e. at the hour of each prayer), they, at first, had to be content with three times only.²

In Egypt, this institution appears as early as the Fātimide period, and under the Mamlūks, we see Emīrs distinguished by the title *Emīr Tabl Khānāt*, enjoying this privilege. In the time of Khalīl adh-Dhāhery there were twenty-four Emīrs, each commanding 100 Mamlūks and 1000 soldiers, who each enjoyed the right to eight drums, two timbals, two hautboys, and four trumpets. This practice was entirely suppressed by Sultan Selim when he conquered Egypt, but appears to have been re-introduced by Sultan Suleyman, who created twenty-four Beys *tabl-khānāt*.³

I believe that the origin of the *tabl-khānā*, like so many things in Islam, must be sought in Persia, where this institution, called Naqqāra Khānā, is still in use, a roll of drums always being sounded at sunset from some tower or gateway in every city with a royal or princely governor. Naqqāra Khānāhs or Drum Towers exist at Isfahān,⁴ Teherān,⁵ Meshed,⁶ Kermanshāh,⁷ etc. At Isfahān a fine portico

¹ Über die von Prokop beschriebene Kunstuhr von Gaza, in the *Abh. der Kg. Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, 1917, Phil.-hist. Klasse, No. 7.

² Quatremère, *Histoire des Mongols*, p. 418, n. 196, and van Berchem, *Notes d'archéologie arabe*, in the *Journal Asiatique*, VIIIe série, tome XIX, pp. 409-410.

³ Quatremère, *Sultans mamlouks*, I (i), pp. 173-174.

⁴ Curzon, *Persia*, II, pp. 27-28; Sarre, *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst*, pp. 82-83 and Taf. LXV; Chardin, *Voyages* (éd. Langlès), VII, pp. 338 and 355-356; and Sanson, *Voyage*, pp. 54-55. Thévenot, *Voyage du Levant*, II, p. 150, speaks of trumpets 8 feet long.

⁵ Curzon, *op. cit.*, I, p. 309.

⁶ *Ibid.*, I, p. 164; Jackson, *From Constantinople to the Home of Omar Khayyām*, p. 274, and Yate, *Khorasan and Sistan*, No. 84 on plan of shrine at Meshed, facing p. 332.

⁷ Ronaldshay, *Outskirts of Empire in Asia*, p. 117.

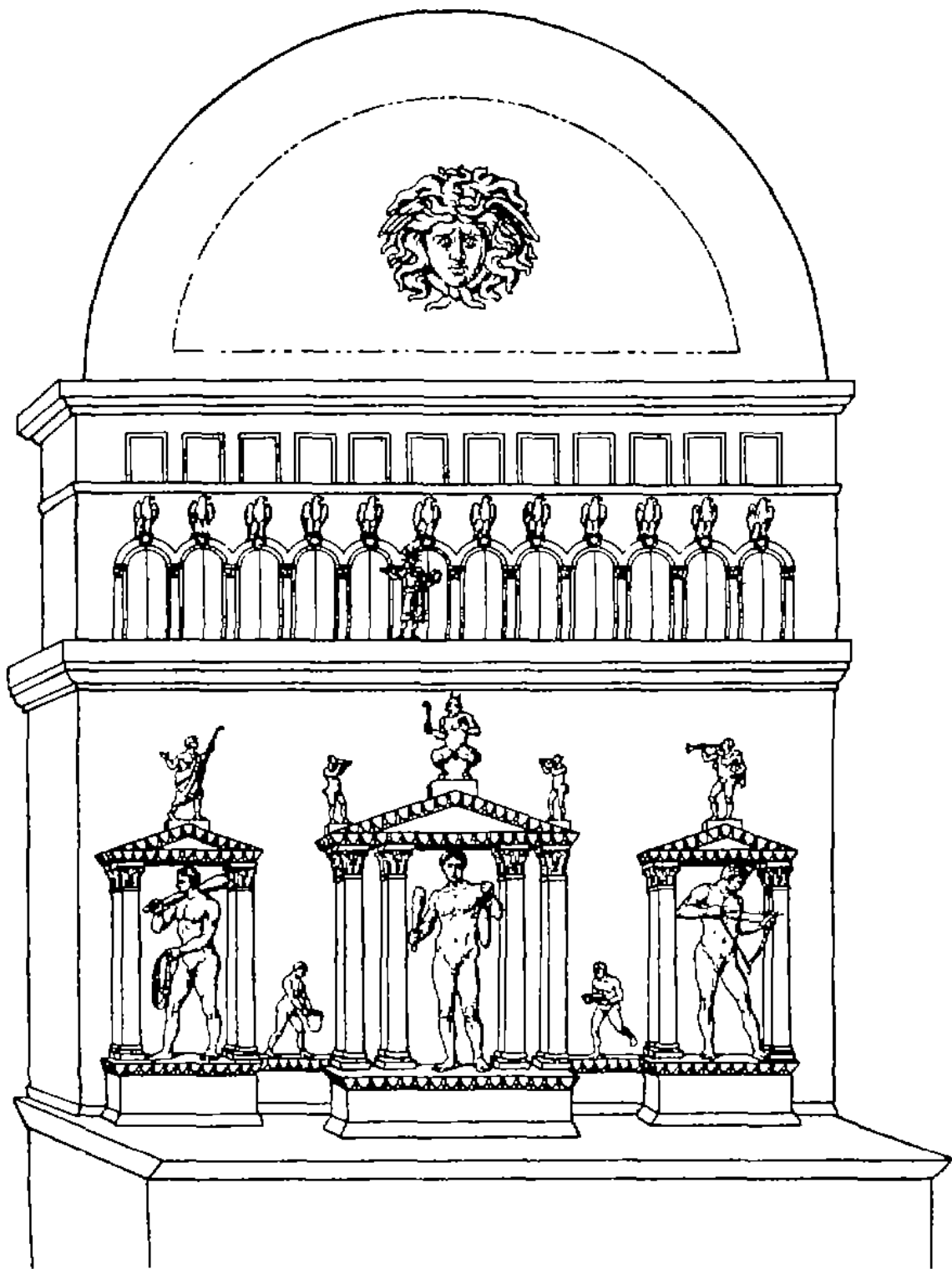


FIG. 1. THE HOROLOGE OF GAZA, AS DESCRIBED BY PROCOPIUS:
[From Diehl', *op. cit.*]

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opening from the meydān into the main bazaar does duty as drum tower, and here the drums, trumpets, etc., are sounded every evening. In Chardin's day (1665-1677) they were sounded at sunset and midnight, in Sanson's day (1683) at noon, sunset, and two hours after midnight.

Professor Jackson, in referring to the Naqqāra Khānā at Urumiah, where a horn over six feet in length is blown and a kettledrum beaten, says that the natives there regard it as a reminiscence of ancient sun-worship.¹ He rejects this view, and suggests that it is merely the equivalent of a sunset gun or a curfew bell; but, if so, why is it confined to those cities only which are the seat of royalty? Moreover, it is frequently played at sunrise. In any case, I consider that we have proof that it existed before the Mohammedan Conquest, in a Sassanian dish of silver preserved at the Hermitage, Leningrad.² Here we see depicted a palace with a grooved façade like Firuzābād, and a doorway in the centre; above it is a long gallery in which stand seven men blowing enormous trumpets (Plate 24, A). The fact that this body of trumpeters is placed just where we should expect it to be—over the gateway—is significant, and the resemblance which this scene bears to that in the Martin MS. is unmistakable. Having found this institution in Persia, we should naturally expect to find it in India also, which received all its Islamic culture through the former country. In the Fort at Agra, commenced by Akbar in 1566, the Hathi Pol or Elephant Gate, contains a Naubat Khānā, where the royal kettledrums were sounded.³ Similarly in the Fort at Delhi, commenced by Shāh Jahān in 1638 and finished about ten years later, there was a long vaulted entrance hall leading to a great courtyard, on the far side of which was the Naqqāra or Naubat Khānā, a triple-arched gateway, which formed the entrance to the Palace precincts, with a music gallery above, 100 feet long by 70 broad. Bernier (1660-1665) says that the music consisted of hautboys and cymbals;⁴ it was to be heard five times a day,⁵ no doubt at the five times of prayer.

We now come to the final question; what value have these copied miniatures as indications as to the style of painting of the miniatures they were copied from,⁶ that is to say: Is Martin's miniature a safe guide as to the style of painting in 1206, and the Bodleian copy a safe guide as to miniature painting in 1341, the date of the miniature it was copied from?

Now, in both these miniatures there is one feature which offers a certain basis for argument, viz. the ornament in the tympanum of the arch. The earliest Fātimide palmette appears in the stucco ornament of the transept in the Mosque of al-Azhar,

¹ *Persia, Past and Present*, p. 104.

² Reproduced in Smirnov, *Oriental Silverware*, (Russian), plate 63; *Meisterwerke muhammadianischer Kunst*, 1910, Bd. II, Tafel 122 to left (where Kühnel assigns it to the 3rd century A.D.); Miss Bell's *Ukhadīr*, Plate 86 (2); Sarre, *Die Kunst des alten Persien*, Taf. 105, and many other places.

³ Havell, *Agra and the Taj* (2nd ed.), pp. 40-42.

⁴ *Travels in the Mogul Empire* (1914 ed.), p. 260.

⁵ Fanshawe, *Delhi, Past and Present*, pp. 26-28, and Carr Stephen, *Archæology of Delhi*, pp. 220-223.

⁶ This question has already been raised by Herzfeld. See Sarre and Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet*, II, p. 247, n. 2.

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972 A.D., but it is not serrated (Plate 26, A). The earliest palmette resembling that of the Martin miniature is to be found in the Mosque of az-Zāhir, which was built by Sultan Bibars in the Huseyniyya Quarter, outside the north wall of Cairo, in 1266-1269.¹ The fragment shown decorates the inner face of one of the windows on the south-west façade (Plate 26, B). The palmette is serrated, but not quite so serrated as that of the miniature. In the Mausoleum of Sultan Qalāūn, built in 1284,² we find one showing the same development (Plate 26, C), and in the Mosque of the Emir Huseyn, built in 1319,³ a palmette much more serrated (Plate 26, D). If we were to judge the Martin miniature on this basis, we would therefore be led to date it c. 1300, which, although earlier than Sultan Šāliḥ Šālah ad-Dīn Šāliḥ, is much later than the time of Saladin. Martin's remarks about the architectural part of the miniature being quite in keeping with the time of Saladin,⁴ cannot be justified as far as existing monuments are concerned, as the palmette, singularly enough, does not occur on any of the Ayyubide monuments of Cairo,⁵ that is to say, for a period of 80 years.

If we take the Bodleian manuscript, completed 28 Šafar 891 (5th March, 1486), we must come down to the 15th century to find any architectural ornament approximating to that painted in the spandrels. This decoration bears a certain resemblance to the style of shallow incised ornament which first appears as a spandrel filling on the great stone portal of the Mosque of al-Mu'ayyad, finished 1420,⁶ and which continues down to 1499, when it is found on the mihrāb of the Mausoleum of Sultan al-Malik az-Zāhir Qānsauḥ.⁷ The example which most closely resembles the ornament of the miniature is the decoration of the semi-dome of the mihrāb in the Mausoleum of Sultan Īnāl (Plate 26, E), which was finished in 1451.⁸ On this basis, therefore, we would be led to place this miniature in the second half of the 15th century, which is just the period in which it was painted. Thus, although we have based our judgment on criteria taken from ornament carved on stucco and stone, and applied it to painting, we have obtained fairly accurate estimates of date, so that the architectural ornament found in the miniatures is evidently that of the period in which they were painted, and not that of the earlier manuscript from which they were copied.

¹ For the date see van Berchem, *Corpus*, I, pp. 121-123.

² Van Berchem, *ibid.*, pp. 125-133.

³ Van Berchem, *ibid.*, pp. 169-170, and Herz Bey, *La mosquée de l'Emir Hussein*, in the *Comptes Rendus du Comité de Conservation*, 1910, pp. 155-156.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 12.

⁵ The following is a list: The Citadel, and the Ayyubide Walls; the Mausoleum of the Imām ash-Shāf'ey, 1211; the Mausoleum of the Emir Abū Maṣṣūr Isma'īl, 1216; the Kāmīliyya Madrasa, 1225; the Minaret of Sayedna Huseyn, 1237; the Madrasa of Sultan Šāliḥ, 1242-1244; the Mausoleum of the 'Abbāsid Khalīfs, c. 1242; and the Mausoleum of Sultan Šāliḥ, 1250. See my *Brief Chronology of the Muhammadan Monuments of Egypt*, in the *Bull. de l'Inst. français d'archéol. orientale*, tome XVI, pp. 66-77.

⁶ For date see *Comptes Rendus du Comité de Conservation*, 1890, pp. 69-77, and van Berchem, *Corpus*, I, pp. 335-343.

⁷ Van Berchem, *ibid.*, pp. 555-556.

⁸ *Ibid.*

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Now let us approach the subject from another standpoint. I have constructed a series consisting of four miniatures, all taken from manuscripts of al-Jazāry, and all depicting the same subject, viz. :—

Martin's copy, made 1351–1354 (Plate 23).

The Bodleian copy, made 1486, from a MS. of 1341 (Plate 24, B).

The Leyden copy, made 1561, from a MS. of 1486, presumably the preceding one (Plate 25, A).

The Bodleian copy, made in India, perhaps 17th century (Plate 25, B).

The artist who painted the Bodleian has changed the costumes of the figures, and the artist of the fourth MS. has changed them again, and made them completely Indian ; he has therefore modified the original figures and clothed them in a costume with which he was familiar, to say nothing of other changes, such as a more naturalistic treatment of the two birds. The composition, however, has remained the same in all three pictures.

The results of our inquiry may now be summarized as follows :—

(1) The Martin manuscript consists of leaves from a copy of al-Jazāry's treatise on automata.

(2) The miniature we have studied represents a clepsydra, with automata in the foreground representing a *tabl-Khāna*, an institution that goes back to Sassanian Persia.

(3) The Martin manuscript was executed between 1351 and 1354 for al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ, Sultan of Egypt.

(4) The miniatures are only valid as indications of the style of painting in vogue in the middle of the 14th century, and, with the exception of the composition, cannot be taken as indications of the style of miniature painting practised in 1206.

TWO CLAY FIGURINES FROM QYZIL (CHINESE TURKESTAN)

BY A. v. LE COQ

Both these figurines present rather unusual features.

The first of these (Plate 27, Figs. A, B) was found amongst the debris of the cella of a cave of the last (3rd) group of temples in the large settlements of Qyzil near Kuchā. It is the figure of a kneeling man in a brownish loincloth, carrying over his left shoulder, an apparently twisted roundish object. We do not know what this object may be meant to represent, but the impression is that it may be the lower end of a number of cloths (wearing apparel, etc.) rolled up together, the statue having been immediately christened "the *dhobi*."

The head is either covered by a thick growth of black hair, or by a wig of the same colour.

Although the produce of a mould, the modelling of body and limbs shows a good deal of realism and little trace of that Hellenistic influence which we have learned to look for in all sculptures of Chinese Turkestan.

The second figure (Plate 28 Figs. A, B) is 67 cm. high, and was dug out from the dense layers of rubbish covering the floor of the cella in the "cave-temple of the statues" at Qyzil (cf. Grünwedel, *Altbuddhist. Kultstätten in Chines-Turkistan*, Berlin, 1912, p. 91). The walls of the cella of this large, beautiful, and old temple were formerly adorned, just below the rise of the barrel-vaulting, with a wooden balcony, carrying groups of clay figures, which sometimes were merely musicians, adorers, etc., but which sometimes illustrated scenes from holy books and from the life of the Buddha himself.

Our figure is that of a monk, and may even represent the Buddha. The hair is blue (the *uṣṇīṣa* being broken off); the *ūrṇā* is encircled by a red line. The costume is red; underneath are worn a greenish undergarment, visible at the neck, and a purplish one, showing at the skirts.

Remarkable are the boots, which, though clumsy, have a form allowing them to be slipped on easily.

Monks wearing similar shoes appear here and there in the wall paintings (e.g. Grünwedel, *Alt-Kutscha*, Plate 48, Fig. 1).

THE THREE GREAT *HAKKEI* OF HIROSHIGE

BY WILL H. EDMUNDS

Every form of art in this complex world has its devotee who will aver there is nothing so beautiful as the objects he worships. It is almost a religion with some, and it is practised with an intensity of zeal that often becomes painfully monotonous, especially when we see dwellings adorned in the half mourning style, with vignettes from Books of the Dead, black and white mezzotints of past beauties, in half mourning Hogarth frames, only to be bought at extravagant prices, and in that may be found part of the reason for the choice—ostentatious display; in other houses etchings take their place, still dull things in half-mourning style. No one disputes that they are works of art, but the artistry is not refreshing, and few could look upon such black and white objects and find in them one-half of the ever-growing-upon-one effects to be found in Japanese colour prints, so here is a word for colour, for in colour is life.

It is curious to observe how those first brought face to face with Japanese colour prints are almost instantly either attracted or repelled by them. With many, their eyes see only the conventions of the artist, the unlikeliest faces of the figures, the exaggerated attitudes of the actors, or the curious lines at the tops of landscapes, cutting off the sky above one's head; but on the other hand some look more fully in front of them as to distance in landscapes, and at once see in them a depth, and co-ordination with nature, that enthralls their senses and fascinates them.

It is not the intention to explain here how or why the Japanese artist idealized his figures at various periods, a trick not quite unknown in European portrait painters, nor to defend the extravagant attitudes of theatrical characters, now much in vogue in the cinematograph shows, but to deal with the work of the greatest landscape artist of Japan, Hiroshige, the man who was supreme in depicting nature's ever-changing moods, making his representation of those moods an object lesson for other artists, of other lands, for all time. No artist of Japan has appealed so convincingly to occidentals as Hiroshige, yet to his own people he was for long no more than the newspaper illustrator was to ourselves in the days when the *Illustrated London News* and *The Graphic* daily put forth their woodcut views, although his work was not issued in newspaper form, but as single-sheet leaflets, showing his native land to the untravelled population of Yedo, and revealing to them some idea of its contour; but they quite failed to see the beauties of the drawings, although generally so artistic a nation. They were too realistic, they left too little to the imagination for a people always on the look out for something covert in a picture, and though bought up eagerly enough as views, as we buy post card views, they were, with but few exceptions, not reckoned as works of art, and Japan could boast of but few collectors. It required the united testimonies of Europe and America shouted in their ears to convince the Japanese that they did not know when they had the good thing at their own doors, so that more than a half-century had passed since the artist's death,

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and Japan had been denuded of these masterpieces of landscape, before more than a mere handful of collectors could be counted in Japan, who appreciated and prized the work of their great countryman.

It was in the first *Tōkaidō* series that Hiroshige first manifested his power of picturing the mood of nature in a drawing of a scene before him, shown in a striking manner in the luminosity of the sky, and the slight distant sea haze, in a good copy of *Ejiri*, but the good copy needs emphasis, for in many others it is absent, one only sees the configuration ; or again in the rosy effulgence of the sky in the *Mariko* print. Again, perhaps no other print expresses the quietness, the intense loneliness of that snow-covered hillside of *Kameyama*, although there is actually a daimyō's procession wending its way up to the castle, but so hidden by the snow-covered trees and ridges of the hill, that its very sounds seem muffled in the fleecy covering. Contrast that with the movement in *Shōno*, its driving torrent of rain, the high wind bending over the tall bamboos till one can almost hear their rustling roar, the laboured hurry of the panting *Kago* carriers up the hill, and the helter-skelter descent of other travellers caught in the sudden fury of the tempest. Apart from these and a few others in the same series, Hiroshige had not yet fully developed his powers, so that some of the views in this set are quite commonplace, but in his later sets, here called *The Three Great Hakkei*, the artist became more intent upon mood in configuration, and the series, being based upon the Chinese theme of the eight moods of nature, gave him the opportunity for his choicest work in the *Ōmi Hakkei* or "Eight Views of Ōmi," the province in which Lake Biwa lays claim to the greatest share, the *Yedo Kinkō Hakkei* or "Eight Views of the Environs of Yedo," and the *Kanazawa Hakkei* or "Eight Views of Kanazawa," the name of a district with a group of thirteen villages beside the *Matsura Inlet* in *Yedo Bay*, near to *Yokohama* ; and as in other Japanese prints there may be found good and poor copies, the original issues prepared under the eye of the artist, and much later productions in which economy of colour blocks aided cheapness, it will be the object of this paper to guide the would-be collector to such copies as will give the greatest satisfaction.

Neither the order in which these three sets were published nor the sequence of either set is known. Mr. Happer's placing of the views was quite promiscuous, it was not followed in the Hiroshige Memorial Exhibition Catalogue, nor was any suggestion as to the proper order offered, and the British Museum Catalogue follows neither. Thus it would appear that no wrappers for the sets, with lists of the prints, are traceable, such as have occasionally been found with other sets. But the writer has seen one of the sets, that of the *Yedo Kinkō Hakkei*, in the original album form as it was issued for public sale, which seems more closely to follow the course of the seasons than in any other arrangement. It was formerly in the Samuel Collection, and the order was as follows : Evening Snow, Sunset, Evening Rain, Clearing Weather, Evening Bell, Autumn Moon, Returning Boats, and Homing Geese, and this order will be followed here.

Beginning with the *Ōmi Hakkei* set, all the authorities state that it was published

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by the Yeisendō or Kawaguchi Shozō, and the Hoyeidō or Take Uchi in conjunction, but Major Sexton has shown that Yeisendō is the *dōgō* of Kawaguchi Uhei, not Shozō, so once again the Committee of the Hiroshige Memorial Exhibition have shown themselves to have been lamentably deficient in information upon the very subject they appear to have had so much at heart. Each of these publishers was responsible for four prints of the set, but, beyond this, there is no evidence on the prints themselves of any conjunction, if that means co-operation in production; on any and every copy of each of the four prints there is simply the seal of one or the other publisher. The titles are all in red labels, with square labels beside them, coloured with two colours, the one running down and the other running up, differing on each print, and each bearing the place name and a poem, and all original issues have the circular *Kiwame* seal on the left margins. The poems are the same as those on an earlier set by Toyohiro, of which translations are given in the British Museum Catalogue, pp. 238-239.

1. *Hira no Bōsetsu*, "Evening Snow at Mount Hira." Poem label colours, top yellow, bottom pale blue; signed Hiroshige, under the signature a circular solid red seal with Yeisendō in white.

2. *Seta no Yūshō*, "Sunset at Seta." Poem label, top deep blue, bottom purple; signed Hiroshige, and below a broad and narrow double-line square solid red seal with Hoyeidō Ji in white.

3. *Karasaki Yoru Ame*, "Evening Rain." Poem label, top orange, bottom pale blue; signed Hiroshige, and below a square solid red seal with Yeisendō in white.

4. *Awazu no Seiran*, "Clearing Weather at Awazu." Poem label, top rose, bottom green; signed Hiroshige, and below a square solid red seal with Hoyeidō han in white.

5. *Mii no Banshō*, "Evening Bell at Mii" (temple). Poem label, top blue, bottom rose; signed Hiroshige, and below a double-gourd shaped seal, solid red with two white circles, *Kiwame* in the top and *Take* below, in white.

6. *Ishiyama Aki Tsuki*, "Autumn Moon at Ishiyama." Poem label, top yellowish brown, bottom purple; signed Hiroshige, and below an octagonal solid red seal with a white marginal line and Hoyeidō in white.

7. *Yabase no Kihan*, "Boats returning to Yabase." Poem label, top pale violet, bottom green; signed Hiroshige, and below a square solid red seal with Yeisendō han in white.

8. *Katata no Rakugan*, "Homing Geese at Katata." Poem label, top pale blue, bottom yellow; signed Hiroshige, and below a circular solid red seal with Yeisendō in white.

These seals may be found on later editions of these prints, so that they do not always by themselves indicate original impressions; the character of the printing and the outlines of the blocks must also be taken into consideration, and particularly the colouring of the poem labels as given above, for in some of the later printings the colours were altered, and in some only one running colour was used. In *Hira* the white snow-covered mountain in the background has no key block, the fleeciness

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of the snow showing better against the dark sky without the sharpness of line that appears in some late copies. In *Seta* the top sky should be almost black, but below it, and out to the horizon, a luminous pale yellow glow predominates, against which the whole details of the landscape stand out in black and grey, with only parts of the water in blue. *Karasaki* is the subject of frequent changes in the printing, sometimes the mist engendered by the downpour of rain lies across the middle of the great tree, sometimes at the top, and sometimes at the bottom. The original issue is all in black and grey, the lower branches showing plainly, while the mist thickens upwards, leaving the top of the tree but faintly shown. A distant twin peak rising about half as high as the tree should also appear on the right of the tree, showing faintly in the mist, but is frequently absent in late issues. Another print of *Karasaki* is partly in blue; and yet another all in two blues and black.

Mii has more variations than any in the set. The earliest impression has in the foreground on the left a grey field streaked with green and graded downwards into wine colour, the trees on the left are in black, on the right in black and grey, the mid-distance two-peaked hill is green in the centre, with a reddish brown crest, and among the trees nestle a cluster of house roofs, some red, others yellow, others slaty; on the right the slopes of this hill fade off into clear white as of evening mist obliterating the slope, and behind are stripes of orange-tinted cloud dividing this from the higher hill in the rear, which has grey sides and a dark top against a pale orange sky graded upwards to a brick-red top line.

Mii, another copy, similar foreground but no green stripes, very little grading in the mid hills, the rear hill equally dark, the sky almost white, with a black top line.

Mii, another copy, the foreground field on the left all green, the mid hill all grey, some of the trees are in blue, the sky pale yellow with orange top line.

Mii, another copy, the foreground field all white, the slopes of the mid hill blue with a reddish brown crest, the rear hill white, the trees on the right all blue, the sky white with a dark blue top line.

Mii, another copy all in black and grey. Other alterations occur in the colours on the poem labels, as on the third of the above, the colours are top green, bottom red; and on the fourth there is only one dirty-looking run from the top, no bottom colour at all. In another issue, the vertical title label is slightly more than twice the height of the poem label, whereas in the original issue it is only very slightly higher.

Yabase is another in which the luminosity of the golden sky, orange at the top, graded downwards into pale yellow with streaks of white cloud above the mountain, black at the crest but graded down into white, is sadly wanting in late and poorly printed copies.

The set *Yedo Kinkō Hakkei No Zu* is one of the rarest as well as the finest set of Hiroshige's work, even in its published form, but rarer still in those first issues made to the order of Taihaidō, a famous poet of the day, for the fellow-members of a Poetry Club, in order that he and his poetical confrères might have inscribed on them their verses, for their own gratification and for the edification of their friends, so that all the original issues bear three or four poems on the faces of the blocks, and on the

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left margins the inscription *Taihaidō Kaihan*, "Prints introduced by Taihaidō." As these prints found favour with the public, they were afterwards published in regular form by the Kikakudō or Sano-ya Kihei, but with only one poem on the block face of each print, the others being cut away; in other respects, with exceptions hereafter noted, the prints are the same as to signatures, Hiroshige, and under or beside the signatures the seal *Kiwame* and the publisher's seal Kikakudō.

As a complete set of the original issues has not yet been published, they are here illustrated, thanks to the courtesy of H. P. Garland, Esq., of Saco, Maine, U.S.A., who has provided the material from a set in his collection.

1. *Asukayama Bōsetsu*, "Evening Snow, Asukayama." Three poems on the left half of the block, reading from right to left, by Kasentei Tomoyori, Bunin Gentantei, and Donshō. On the originals the snowflakes are splashed with Chinese white in parts, so that, after decomposition of the lead in the white, they show black against the white ground of the hill, but where not splashed, as in the sky, they show white. The only alteration observed in later issues is the cutting away of the first two poems. Plate 29.

2. *Koganei no Yushō*, "Sunset at Koganei." Three poems on the right half of the block by Baioku, Donshō, and Fusotei. In the original issue the delicately tinted cherry blossoms are heightened by gauffrage, and the flow of the stream is accentuated by impressed lines, while the whole scene has the atmospherical mood of spring. One of the Taihaidō issues has the poem by Fusotei cut out. The later published form has only one poem, and no gauffrage, or questionably faint. Plate 30.

3. *Azuma-sha Yoru Ame* "Evening Rain, Azuma Temple." Three poems on the right and centre of the block by Kaninsha Nijimori, Suichōdō, and Shobaitei Akiyudo. The published edition has the one poem by Suichōdō in a different hand, to the left of the place name; it reads: "A willow rain-coat borrowed from Yanagishima, is useful in the Spring night rain at Azuma woods." A later issue is to be found without the title. Plate 31.

4. *Shibaura no Seiran*, "Clearing Weather at Shibaura." Three poems on the left half of the block by Baikatei Hanamaru, Bantaisha Kazuhisa, and Hachijintei. The original issue has the waves largely rendered by gauffrage. Late issues have only one poem. Plate 32.

5. *Ikegami Banshō*, "Evening Bell, Ikegami." Three poems on the left half of the block by Harugomatei Noriyasu, Sakenouye Kisanji, and Fūgetsu-an. Later editions have some one, and some two poems on the right half of the block beside the place name. The poem by Noriyasu reads: "The Eight Scrolls have the virtue of prolonging age. The Founder [Nichiren] of the Temple [Hommon-ji] entered Nirvana as the evening bell was striking" [in 1282]. Plate 33.

6. *Tamagawa Aki Tsuki*, "Autumn Moon, Tama River." Three poems on the left half of the block by Shokwasai, Yototei Katawaza, and Yorojin Takinari. On the original issues the moon was in Chinese white, which decomposing turns black; on later issues it is sometimes in Chinese white, sometimes in mica, but more often

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simply left white. The published edition has but one poem, and that on the right half of the block beside the place name; it reads: "In autumn nights the likeness of the Moon lingers on the Tama River by the twin pines, as if sleeping by day," and is signed Asashiku Manao. Plate 34.

7. *Gyotoku Kihan*, "Boats returning, Gyotoku." Four poems, one on the right half of the block by Buntei, and three on the left half of the block by Kakuyūshi Kamemaru, Sosenrō Shinshū, and Takamimi-o-Kofu. In the original issue part of the waves in gauffrage. In the published edition the poem by Sosenrō Shinshū is moved to the right side of the block. Plate 35.

8. *Haneda Rakagan*, "Homing Geese at Haneda." Four poems, one on the right half of the block by Taihaidō Donshō, and three on the left half of the block by Toyen Michiki, Asashiku Manao, and Daijinro Tsuran. In original issues the water between the reeds is improved by gauffrage. In the published edition only the poem on the right by Donshō remains; it reads: "All aslant the wild geese descend, as if to escape from children who mischievously bar the way to Haneda," and the signature Taihaidō Donshō is prefixed by *Mikawa chō no ju*, "living at Mikawa Street." Plate 36.

The *Kanazawa Hakkei* set is by many counted as the greatest of Hiroshige's masterpieces, but the writer is not under that illusion, nor does it appear at all self-evident when compared with the other two sets of Hakkei already dealt with. In the first place, the set has a distinct drawback in the long horizontal red title panel set in the middle at the top of each print, which is a decided bar to atmospheric effects. In the designs themselves there is to be observed a greater simplicity than in the others, and a change in the technique very difficult to analyse, but apparently a movement away from traditional styles into more direct impressionism, but only two of the set stand out as thoroughly representative of the great master, Shōmyō-ji and Koizumi. All the prints, whether early or later copies, are signed Hiroshige, and under each signature is the artist's seal Ichiryūsai, except Hirakata, which is sealed Hiroshige; and on the right margins is the *Kiwame* seal above that of the publisher Shiba Koshi-hei. This set does not appear to have been very popular since there has been comparatively very little reproduction, and the only differences to be found are slight alterations of colouring, or such differences as arise from heavy or light printing, or from new or worn blocks, so that as nearly as possible the original colourings of the various prints will be given except for

1. *Uchikawa Bōsetsu*, of which for several years no copy has come to hand.

2. *Nojima Sekishō*, "Sunset, Nojima." Top sky bright yellow, centre distance open, horizon rosy pink; sea blue deepening in the foreground; island in grey without key block; house roofs, some yellow, others yellowish grey; the man standing in the nearest boat wears green clothes, with a red tobacco pouch.

3. *Koizumi Yoru Ame*, "Night Rain, Koizumi." Top sky black, the trees in the distance on the right with the hills behind them grey, as in mist, without key block; the thatched stacks in the fields all crushed strawberry tone. The ground of the path, and field on the right, grey, middle field lighter, land on the left about the

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same as that on the right, but the left foreground of the middle field graded into green. Late issues leave out the distant range of hills on the right.

4. *Susaki Seiran*, "Clearing Weather at Susaki." Top sky blue, centre distance open, horizon with streaks of pale orange. In the left foreground a great green tree, in the distance a long range of grey hills without key block, the middle distance land on the right graded into green.

5. *Shōmyō-ji Banshō*, "Evening Bell, Shōmyō Temple." Top sky wine colour, all the rest of the sky open white; the mountains at the back blue without key blocks, the nearer range a warm brown, next nearer dark grey top graded down to yellowish slopes, the front hill, on which stands the temple, deep grey top graded down to lighter grey; the trees are in two greens from alternate blocks, except on the far left, where they are grey as in mist; the water blue, deepening at the lower front. The whole print is a masterpiece of finely gently merging colours.

The poem, which is not signed, reads: "The mists which circle round this celebrated hill at Ranazawa in Spring, almost obscure the sounds of the bell rung at sundown."

6. *Seto Aki Tsuki*, "Autumn Moon, Seto." Top sky blue graded down into a pale blue mist round the moon, all the rest open white; foreground water blue graded outwards gently into the palest hue towards the white misty horizon; sail in the foreground dark; house tops on the right dark at the tops, graded down to brown at the eaves. The round topped hill dark at the top, graded down into grey at the base; blue walls under the tea-house garden on the right.

7. *Otomo Kihan*, "Boats returning to Otomo." Top sky blue, middle distance open, faint golden yellow on the horizon; sea blue graded deeper outwards; foreground a bluish green with dark shading, road grey; distant sails on the right, two grey and two white, alternately.

8. *Hirakata Rakugan*, "Homing Geese at Hirakata." Top sky yellow, centre open, horizon faint blue, no clouds; sea blue, that part beyond the projecting strip of land cut with white streaks of mist; hills nearest, grey with upper parts blue, and lower slopes reddish brown; the foremost patch of sands grey; hat of the bending woman straw colour, her bodice striped white and wine colour.

The notes from which this article has been constructed are the results of many years of observation and comparison, but they do not claim to be exhaustive. At times years intervene between the opportunities for seeing two copies of some of the rarer examples of the same print, and it requires considerable experience before a definite system of note-taking is constructed. For example, at first a note is taken that a certain print is sealed with a certain publisher's seal, which at the time seemed sufficient, but subsequently it is found that the shape of the seal, or its position on the block, is altered on a later issue, and then it has become impossible to trace where that print, of which the seal was first noted, has become located. Again, to be able conclusively to compare one print with another, especially for the detection of re-cut blocks, an assembly of prints is required, but this can only be secured by some

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wealthy collector and enthusiast buying up, and retaining, all prints of a given subject showing variations, which may chance to come his way. All investigators into these mysteries will be faced with the same difficulties, until someone will organize an exhibition of prints, not simply to laud the collection, nor with a single eye to beauty, but to expose effectually the differences to be found, and to seek to find the reasons for them. Who will adopt this hint and carry it out?

CHINESE INCISED SCROLL DESIGNS

BY S. C. BOSCH REITZ

Certain early Chinese stones dating from the 6th and 7th centuries have very intricate and generally very charming incised scroll designs. The pieces decorated in this way are tomb entrances, that is, the semicircular frontal slabs and door jambs of gateways leading to tomb chambers, solid slabs simulating these gates, small sarcophagi probably intended for ashes, and walls of small shrines. The decorations consist of flower scrolls beautifully drawn and treated as ornamental designs, sometimes masses of cloudlike foliage, dragons, phoenixes, guardians of heaven, ogres' heads, etc. They are very handsome all over designs, generally arranged with rare good taste. The technique is a very simple and a very effective one; in the fairly soft slaty stone the ornaments are incised with a sharp instrument which gives easy flowing lines of the character of pencil strokes. The artist has carefully kept the design in big masses which, beautifully composed, cover the stone with well-spaced spots of light and dark.

In order to emphasize the effect of these masses of ornament, the plain background has been slightly cut away and roughened. When rubbings have often been taken of these stones, the relief decoration stands out in dark on a lighter background and the effect is very handsome, but when clean and free from ink, the design is not at all easily discernible.

The tomb entrance illustrated here (Plate 37), which is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, shows the beautiful effect of the handsome design when the surface is blackened with ink.

The reproduction of the small sarcophagus (Plate 38) belonging to Mr. C. T. Loo shows how the effect was originally intended to be. Some of the cut-away and roughened spots in the design which separate the foliage are still filled in with a white paste, a kind of gesso. This paste is, no doubt, old and original, the ground was sunk and kept rough to allow the paste to adhere; in this way the decoration was much improved and made much plainer. On several old pieces of this kind traces of gesso filling can be found, very small pieces are visible on the tomb entrance here illustrated, and in all probability all were originally decorated in this way.

THE SUMMER EXHIBITION AT THE MUSÉE CERNUSCHI IN PARIS, 1924

BY ALFRED SALMONY

It may be said without exaggeration that the exhibition at the Musée Cernuschi of the summer of 1924 surpasses all previous European exhibitions of Chinese art. Its epoch-making value consists in its presentation of the problems connected with the collection and evaluation of Chinese works of art. In the museums of European and Near-Eastern art the more ancient acquisitions are labelled "Place of origin unknown," while the more modern give the details with scrupulous exactness and thus provide a basis for serious art-history. In the Further Asiatic branch of research also the need for well-certified and unimpeachable data is beginning to be recognized. In this gigantic field—gigantic both in extent and in artistic importance—it is necessary not only to determine the sequence of stylistic periods but to establish the facts concerning regional peculiarities, frontier-line phenomena, and cases of migration from one art-centre to another. The exhibition impresses us as an answer to the question: "How do we stand in regard to our descriptions of the provenance of the pieces we are able to acquire? How are we to obtain trustworthy data? Who is to provide us with them?"

In the Musée Cernuschi three different departments give three separate answers. The first department comprises the pieces discovered or bought by Jean Lartigue in the course of his expeditions to various provinces of China. The object of these expeditions was to obtain photographs of unknown or insufficiently studied groups of monuments. The photographs are not exhibited, while the acquisition of works of art was not one of the traveller's first aims. Nevertheless, such objects as he was able to bring away from one excavation are of great documentary value. The sepulchral statuettes of the Lartigue Collection are of no great artistic importance, but they prove incontrovertibly that in certain localities a red friable clay, with or without green glaze, was employed in the T'ang period. A Han tile with interesting bands of relief marks the highest point reached from an artistic standpoint by Lartigue's originals. These hunting scenes are probably not without a symbolical character, the key to which no one has as yet attempted to discover. Here lies one of the problems to which we would draw attention in connexion with the exhibition. It is not the aim of this paper to provide solutions to these problems; but it may be said generally that the scanty harvest of originals produced by such expeditions as those of Lartigue is amply compensated by the trustworthiness of the results.

After the cases containing the Lartigue Collection come two rooms in which the Swedish specialist student, Osvald Sirén, brings together the results of his journeys. Only a small part of these has been acquired by purchase. The sculptures are intended more or less to exemplify an arrangement according to date and locality. These methods, so usual in European science, are being applied by Sirén in a work he has planned on Chinese Plastic Art. In the exhibition specimens are to be seen—

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the familiar dark-coloured limestone of the Long men grottoes (all of the T'ang period) along with the white marble of Ting tcheou (Wei period). Of special interest are some fragments of the cave group of T'ien long chan (Shansi, about 600), which has only recently obtained the celebrity it so well deserves. A Taoist stele of the Wei period bears, like similar examples, a forged inscription (this on the authority of Professor Pelliot). The portrait-like head of a monk in white marble (Shen t'ung ssu) belongs, if only on account of its suggestion of the round in the modelling, to the T'ang and not to the Wei period. This is confirmed by a reading of the inscriptions of Shen t'ung ssu given in Part 308 of the Kokka and dated 657 and 658. Figures of monks of the Sung period are to be seen in examples of well-known styles, for some of which the locality is adequately determined. A head from Tsi Hia ssu would seem to be of special value for the development of human portraiture (Plate 39). It belongs to the period of the Liang dynasty and is accordingly contemporary with the other monuments from the region of Nanking with which Segalen has made us acquainted, though these show no knowledge of human modelling in the round. The head may well be of the 5th century. It forms a connecting link between the summary decorative treatment of the face in the Han period (cp. L. Ashton, *Chinese Sculpture*, London, 1924, Plate 4 (I)) and the centre of expression of the Buddhist face. The region of the eyes is still undeveloped and is of very Chinese effect. About the curved mouth plays a smile of illumination. It foreshadows what was later to be achieved by the plastic art of the Wei period. A collection of small bronzes completes the survey. Some paintings and a Japanese head add nothing to the attractions of the first room. Special care has been taken by Sirén in the arrangement of his collection of jade. The various series of pieces used in the cult of the dead and for ceremonial purposes are very complete, and if the collector has allowed himself to be captivated by the charming trifles of a more recent date, that is a very understandable weakness. How useful search in historically determined sites may be is demonstrated by the bones and pottery found by Sirén in the ancient capital of the Yin, near Tchang Te fou (Honan). Pelliot has summarized the results of the work so far accomplished in this important department of Chinese archaeology in his *Notes sur l'histoire de la céramique chinoise* (T'oung Pao, 22, 2). The style of decoration seen in the examples exhibited is geometrical and there is as yet no attempt at conventionalized animal forms. Is this to be set down to contacts between China and neighbouring nomad peoples? The further development of figured pottery is splendidly illustrated. The Han period is represented by a miniature sepulchral chamber, very richly elaborated, with door, door-knocker, and an open-work band of dragons, birds, toads, and lions. A number of these pieces in low relief with beasts and fantastic figures have appeared recently in the dealers' shops. The complete specimen of the Sirén Collection gives the key to their purpose. A horse's head, if only on account of its severe style, must be assigned to the early period; a vessel with a flat cover and richly decorated with animal figures shows unusually high quality. A basin with fishes in relief, roof, and pitchers for drawing water enables us to recognize in this frequently occurring form

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the model of a fountain. The ceramics of the Wei period have the elegance and severity of style of the grottoes of Yün kang. Their material is always a very dark, almost black, clay. For the circumstantial explanation of Chinese sepulchral reliefs Sirén has, it will be seen, been able to contribute valuable new lights. The bronzes which form the last portion of his collection are arranged, like the jade, according to types. Very complete series are to be seen of mountings, buckles, and cross-pins with lions' heads, for carriage fittings. On the Scythian problem many useful lights are thrown. For example, the fact that fights between beasts must have been a favourite subject for plaques in Chinese art is proved at once by the series in the Shōsōin. What date will finally be assigned to these groups is an interesting question. The group of problems is sure to receive plenty of attention from scholars in the immediate future. Sirén's whole collection bears the stamp of the trained historian of art, who tries to furnish his work with typical examples—often paying deference to the claims of quality, sometimes attracted by a circumstantial indication, but always endeavouring to fit the particular phenomenon into its place in an evolutionary purview. But so long as the archaeologist in China is unable to excavate, his achievement must be limited to lucky finds.

The real backbone of the whole exhibition is formed by the pieces bought by the dealer, Léon Wanniek, on his latest journey to China. With laudable absence of false shame the Museum has not hesitated to accept the contributions of trade to the cause of science. Wanniek attempts, with varying success, as will be seen, to meet the pressing need for trustworthy place-data. Plastic art does not this time occupy the foreground. Three important examples of Buddhist representation are assigned to Yün kang. They do, as a matter of fact, show the well-known friable stone. But the assignation to the 6th century and even to the T'ang period is surely impossible; it can only hold for one small fragment. The reliefs with Boddhisattvas in carinate niches bear inscriptions which will perhaps enable us to solve the problem. The principal piece shows Manjusri with retinue (Plate 40). The lion on which he rides is led by a servant, whose figure is almost entirely worn away. The man with the drum and the worshippers are set on different planes. This multiplication of planes, to begin with, ill-suited to relief-work, can only belong to a later period—perhaps the Ming. Besides this, the baroque profusion of forms is utterly opposed to the archaic severity and restrained elegance of the Wei style. Finally, can Chavannes and the scholars who compiled the Japanese Yün kang album have passed over a group so distinctive in style? A fine torso in yellowish brown marble is tentatively placed in the Sung period, a dating confirmed by the place of discovery. This is given as Chou lou sien, the town which was overwhelmed by floods in 1108 and has since yielded such rich spoils (cp. T'oung Pao, December, 1923, p. 377). I give all place-names with the spelling adopted in the exhibition (which certainly needs to be revised by a Sinologist). If the dragon-grotesques and Apsara figures in clay really come from a temple in the same town, the assignation of these objects also to the Sung period is established; their style too is in favour of it. Some cast-iron figures of later date are not such as to render that generally

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unpleasing material any more sympathetic. Quite by itself stands a strictly conventionalized and gilded bronze figure—certainly not Wei, rather an early piece of Tibetan work. Figured sepulchral ceramics seem to be neglected in this collection. This branch of art, of which Wanniek is usually so fond, is only represented by an ink-dish of the Han period in the form of a tortoise. A set of small and curious clay heads probably served as a child's playthings. Scattered through the rooms which contain Wanniek's Collection are to be found important examples of most periods of ceramic art. The painted vases of the break-up of the Han style are, as in the Sirén Collection, especially well represented. Some pot-bellied pieces of the Han and Yüan periods have Barbotin ornament, the Mesopotamian origin of which has been demonstrated by Strzygowski (*Altai-Iran*, Leipzig, 1917, p. 268). A tripod with Yin ornament among the fragments referred to should be described as "in the style of the Yin period." The source of some Sung vases of high quality is unfortunately not given. They are fully developed types, one tall and elegant with black-glazed, cut-out ornament on a yellow-brown ground, another of similar form with a broadly sketched flower pattern in brown under grey-green glaze. There are tea-pots like those of Korea standing in saucers. The ordinary *clair de lune* pieces are put into the shade by a Chün yao and a so-called "soft" Chün yao.

The really important feature of the Wanniek Collection is the large number of ceramic works for which the place of discovery is given. Two groups may be distinguished. One comprises the pottery from the already mentioned city of Chou lou sien, in the province of Tschili, sixty kilometres west of Chen te fou. Wanniek was himself present at several excavations. But there is a danger of all finds being labelled with the name which has so rapidly become famous. It is not necessary to assume that genuine articles have been brought from a distance, but the designation is not entirely unquestionable. A second group may be called the Mongolian. It is derived from a number of towns which at the beginning of the 13th century were devastated by Jenghiz Khan and his hordes. The following are named :

- Tokto (now T'o tscheng), between parallels 40° and 50°, not far from the Hoang ho ;
- Cheao lien chang, about opposite ;
- Tou tscheng tse, 30 kilometres west of Chabanor-Toumet ;
- San tao intze, 125 kilometres west of Kouei houa tscheng ;
- the name Pai ta is doubtful.

The localities given for finds in Northern China are entirely trustworthy. The pieces are all rough, but from an artistic point of view by no means without charm. But the dating is in many cases uncertain. The ruinous sites, in spite of the fear of ghosts, were probably inhabited at later times, even if only temporarily. It is possible that some of the pieces will have to be dated later than the 13th century.

Chou lou sien provides us with information about the things in everyday use among ordinary people. Along with wooden remnants and matrices for clay-castings

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are to be seen vessels displaying an unusual wealth of forms, also early glazes—even the yellow-brown-green of the T'ang, but applied to grey and fairly hard-paste pottery. Might we not find here the key to the much disputed assignation (on stylistic grounds) of the Lohans of I chou to the Sung period. The pieces, whose local origin is, no doubt, for the most part correctly given, prove the longevity of the glazes. The everyday commonness at that date of forms which are now objects of admiration may now be assumed. So too the employment of local material. We find that everywhere the article of common use (as opposed to the admired masterpiece, the article of luxury) was the product of local workshops. The so-called "hare-skin," cups with a white border, and celadons are of by no means rare occurrence. Time has added its contribution. The white surface has acquired a reddish and a grey-blue crackling, or has decomposed in cloudy patches—an accidental charm by which the eye is all too easily captivated. Special interest attaches to San tao intze. Here rough Han pottery, somewhat baggy in form, was produced in the 13th century. In dark clay and unglazed we have the familiar pot-bellied vases with tiger head and small handles—of the very type we have long been in the habit of ascribing to the influence of bronze-craft. There is no more striking illustration of the longevity of forms in China, though of course this is an unusual case which still requires elucidation. In the very fully represented Mongolian group special mention must be made of the black porcelain—black glaze with small oil-spots and large pieces with a tar-like surface and incised pattern. As a separate exhibit are shown some Ming vases of the Tschikiang type with iridescent colouring. This attractive decomposition of the surface can therefore take place in a relatively short space of time.

Important as are the additions made to our knowledge of ceramics by the Wanniek Collection, they are actually surpassed by what we learn from the collection of bronzes. The isolated discoveries made in outlying regions of China, long neglected, apparently as being too out-of-the-way, have gradually gathered head and have now descended in a flood on Paris and on the expectant connoisseurs of Chinese art. Scythian art has become a catch-word. The superabundance of the Sirén and Wanniek Collections will need further arrangement. As place of origin Wanniek gives the great bend of the Hoang-ho. That is probably not a very safe determination. At certain periods whole regions of China were probably flooded with these things, chiefly metal mountings, which, like their breastplates and their battle-order, the Chinese borrowed from their barbaric neighbours (cp. B. Laufer, *Chinese Clay Figures*, Chicago, 1914). The questions raised by this section of the exhibition take us back to the point at which Strzygowski left the inquiry, only this time we start from China, the cultural centre, strike the circumference, and establish a curious interchange between the artistic centre and the nomad middlemen. This curious reciprocal action set in during the centuries preceding the Han period and reached its climax in that period. What really belongs to the early time has first of all to be separated out. A good many of the pieces stand nearer to the decorative maturity of the T'ang style or must be of even later origin. But a large part of the bronzes shown, especially

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the Hunnish group, belongs to imitative eras. The need for a classification according to time involves also a racial classification, which is likely to present difficulties. Aryan work will have to be distinguished from Mongolian. The exhibition puts together under the all too convenient catch-heading the most heterogeneous elements. Plate 41 shows two mountings with fantastic winged unicorns whose derivation from the horse is unmistakable. The modelling makes use of light and shade. It must be the work of a people to whom separate representation in the round was by no means unknown. Could there be a greater contrast to this than the cover shown in Plates 42 and 43A—Sirén speaks of an astronomical instrument (?) A monster is devouring a duck, the young of the former is sitting at the back of the piece to the right. The duck is, with the exception of the head, entirely lost in the lid, to which the monster's tail serves as a handle. Like the plait ornament of the border, no part of the design gets free of the flat style of decoration, which is quite unacquainted with modelling in the round. How a classification on the lines of art-geography is to be undertaken cannot be explained within the limits of this paper.

Incomparably the best part of the exhibition is the collection of Chinese bronzes, to which the date assigned—3rd century B.C.—may well be correct. The place of origin given is a mountain in Northern China, Ho chan or Heng chan. The pieces are brought into connexion with an historical event, the making of an offering to the mountain by the Emperor Shi huang Ti (mentioned in A. Tschepe, *Histoire du royaume de Ts'in*, Shanghai, 1923, p. 263). There is nothing in any of the literature with which I am acquainted to support the idea that this offering consisted of bronzes. Nothing has yet been seen comparable in size and artistic importance with the bronzes shown in Paris. But the coupling of them with the name of the famous Emperor savours a little of the romantic and is not supported by trustworthy data. The fact of their unusual quality is not sufficient to justify so fanciful an embellishment. But the worst blow to the stability of the story is given by the inclusion of a magnificent but much later piece, the figure of a buffalo in a lying posture. This may belong to the T'ang period. Even if certain other vessels, the drawings of Chinese wood-carvings, and finally the beasts on the sepulchral columns photographed by Segalen display the astounding naturalism of the Han period, their outlines appear to be nevertheless under the influence of the round. The detailed treatment of the buffalo points, as does also the material, to a later date. Not much weight can be attached to the fact that the patina is the same as that of the other bronzes. In this collection two groups may be put close together in respect of material, technique, and patina. The first comprises vessels of large contour without ornament, simple works of art relying for effect on form and patina. A tripod with turquoise inlay is to be included with these. A sword with inlays of turquoise and gold has the exact shape and the jade handle which Minns (*Scythians and Greeks*, 1913, p. 205) mentions as typically Sarmatian (Plate 43B). From the best pieces of the early period therefore we get an unexpected wealth of new contributions to the above-mentioned border-problem. The illustration shows the curious gold ornamentation under the patina in the middle of the blade. It must be

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somehow connected with the old characters. The figure of a beast which originally had a vessel on its back is true to the well-known Chou style and is netted over with geometrical ornament. Similar ornamentation along with a plait border form the decoration of a cup with lip for pouring, of a large kettle, of a four-footed vessel, of two tripods, and of an incense-burner. The four last-mentioned pieces have covers, and on the covers rams and ducks, the former bare of ornament, the ducks covered with naturalistic feathers and dots. Among the familiar Chinese wood-carvings are to be seen figured in a squatting posture unicorn, stag, buffalo, ape, horse, domestic fowl, and frog, but mostly more or less contorted to fit the design or netted over with decorative patterning. The bronzes exhibited display a hitherto unknown naturalism. One shallow cup is badly broken. On its fragments are represented a number of animal forms, traced in outline under the patina—among them a man swimming. About the principal pieces are grouped some interesting remains. Shi Huang Ti or no, we have here undoubted masterpieces. The art dealer as a rule keeps himself modestly in the background. His descriptions of locality naturally fail to command the confidence of the professional connoisseur. But we ought all of us to be most grateful to him when he brings us that without which all research becomes mere triviality—the great work of art. The show of bronzes opens a new chapter in the history of Chinese art—not because it bears the name of an emperor, but because it introduces us to one of China's supreme artistic achievements.

A PERSIAN VELVET

BY A. F. KENDRICK

Persia is not exceptional among Oriental nations in showing little critical sense of its own past history. The age of Persian glory, forming an essential chapter in the text-books of Europe, is still to the average Persian an age of *historical darkness and extravagant myth*.

The tomb of his greatest countryman, which he is content to look upon as that of Solomon's mother, remains in Persia not for its historical or architectural importance, but presumably because it is too heavy to carry away. This fate has already overtaken most of the portable works of old Persian craftsmanship, although they are often such that any country in the world might be proud to have produced them. Perhaps the Persian thinks, in his light-hearted fashion, that given the opportunity he is quite able to do as well to-day. After all, medieval Europe offers a parallel. Must we accuse our glorious Gothic craftsmen of vandalism for defacing or destroying the work of their Norman forerunners?

The French traveller, Jean Chardin, who knew Persia well in the latter half of the 17th century, states that the principal manufacture of the country, and that in which the Persians excelled above all others, was the weaving of silk. "*Comme la soie est une matière abondante et commune en Perse, les Persans sont particulièrement exercés à la bien travailler, et c'est à quoi ils réussissent le mieux, et en quoi ils ont les plus considérables manufactures de leurs pays.*"¹ The gold velvet, he says, was very fine. Another witness, Master Jeffrey Duckett, who made a voyage to Persia in Queen Elizabeth's reign as agent of the Muscovy Company, is even more emphatic, in his own quaint and insular way, on the pre-eminence of their silk weaving. "They have few books and less learning," he says, "and are for the most part very brutish in all kind of good sciences, saving in some kind of silk works, and in such things as pertain to the furniture of horses, in the which they are passing good."²

The industry had its origin about fifteen centuries earlier, when Persia straddled across the caravan routes of the traffic in raw silk between China and the Mediterranean. Only as much raw material as she chose to give passage to got through. The rest was woven into those remarkable fabrics no longer to be found in Persia but still existing here and there in European treasuries. These "Sassanian" silks had a notable influence on the Western silk industry, and motives taken from them continued to be woven beyond the limits of Persia long after that country had succumbed to the Arab invaders. From the time of this catastrophe the course of silk-weaving in Persia becomes difficult to follow. The Arab invaders were succeeded by Seljuks, Mongols, and Turkomans, and, although nothing could destroy the native artistic instinct of the Persian, his country lost for a time its separate identity and his energies were dissipated over a wider field. At the end of

¹ *Voyages du Chevalier Chardin, en Perse*. Par L. Langlès, Paris, 1811, Vol. IV, p. 151.

² *Early Voyages and Travels to Russia and Persia*, London, Hakluyt Society, 1886, p. 436.

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the 15th century the Sefavi dynasty set the country up again, and, after some trouble with the Ottoman Turks, the reign of the most resplendent Sefavean monarch, Shah Abbas the Great (1586-1628), witnessed an artistic renaissance.

Three important finds of Persian silk weavings have been made during recent years, in circumstances which point to the probability that in each case the stuffs had left the country when they were new, and had found their way not long after to the places where they have only recently come to light once more.

In one instance the weaving is Sassanian; in another it belongs to the period of foreign domination; and in the last it may be assigned to the reign of Shah Abbas the Great.

The first were brought to light during the course of last year by Professor Stückerberg in the Treasury of the Church of Notre Dame de Valère at Sion (Sitten), capital of the Valais, and in the Abbey of St. Maurice d'Agaune in the same canton.¹ These ancient foundations were already famed for the richness of their treasures, and the results of Professor Stückerberg's exhaustive search are by no means inconsiderable. Sassanian stuffs identical, or nearly so, with others found in the burying grounds of Egypt may now be shown to have been carried at an early date into the heart of Europe. These cannot now be discussed, and it remains to refer briefly to the second "find" before turning to the last, which forms the principal subject of this paper. The circumstances in this case are even more remarkable than in the first. In the month of July, 1920, the parish priest at St. Josse sur Mer, a little village near Boulogne, found the relics of the patron of the parish wrapped in one of the most remarkable medieval woven fabrics that have ever come to light. It had a pattern of elephants, with border-stripes of lines of double-humped camels roped together on the march, and an Arabic inscription recording the name of Abu Mansur Nedjtekín, a general of 'Abd el Malik, Sultan of Khorassan, who executed him in 961 A.D.² Now that this precious and unique stuff has found a home in the Louvre its future safety is assured.

The last "find" may seem a little tame after these remarkable examples of early times, but its astonishing beauty and unsurpassed skill of craftsmanship make full amends. The velvet brocade panel here illustrated (Plate 44) appeared in the market a year or two ago in India with two others of the same design and dimensions. Circumstances pointed to the Jaipur State as the source whence it had been obtained, and it seems fairly well established that it was brought from Isarda, when the late Maharaja (d. 1922), Kaim Singh, younger brother of Thākúr of Isarda, succeeded his relative Ram Singh on the throne of Jaipur in 1880, as Maharaja Sawai Mādhó Singh II. It is by no means abnormal to find Persian stuffs in India; many have been found. Were there no other sources of supply, the nature of the embassies exchanged, when an envoy travelled with a retinue of hundreds of men,

¹ See *Unveröffentlichte Walliser Gewebefunde*, Basel, 1924—a portfolio of photographs with brief text by Prof. E. A. Stückerberg.

² See C. Enlart, *Les Monuments Piot*, Vol. XXIV, 1921; G. Migeon in *Syria*, Vol. III, 1922, p. 41; *L'Illustration*, 26 March, 1921, p. 91.

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and baggage-animals in proportion, would provide an explanation. The Shah of Persia is said to have given away 8000 robes of honour yearly.

These three panels must have seen the light but rarely, for the colours are surprisingly brilliant, and such dilapidations as they have suffered are obviously due to folding and long storage. The technical skill they show is amazing. On this point nobody is better qualified to speak than Sir Frank Warner, who has examined the work and who kindly permits his statement to be published. "It is the most remarkable example of figured velvet that I have ever seen. The extent of the design, the fineness of detail and the number of colours employed in the cut pile figures must have meant such an immense preparation of the loom and such infinite skill in the weaving that it is far beyond anything that the modern producer of textiles is in touch with. The whole thing is amazing in conception, technique, colouring and execution." It is calculated that this single panel, measuring 5 feet 3 inches by 2 feet 6 inches, would represent not less than three years' work of a single weaver. Dr. F. R. Martin, to whom the panel was shown in London, compares it with another he saw twenty-five years ago in the possession of M. Saposhnikoff, a well-known silk weaver of Moscow, who had bought it in Bokhara. M. Saposhnikoff's ambition was to get his weavers to copy it for the Paris Exhibition of 1900, but they were obliged to give up the attempt on account of its difficulty. That velvet, like the one under discussion, showed the colours in their original brilliance.

Only such an age as that of Shah Abbas could produce works of this character. When Chardin visited Persia forty years after Abbas' reign he found thirty-two different ateliers attached to the Court, employing on an average 150 craftsmen each.¹ He says that there had been more ateliers formerly, and the silkworkers especially had been more productive than in his day. In addition to the substantial privileges enjoyed by these craftsmen, there were special awards for those whose work pleased the king. Even to a Frenchman of the age of Louis XIV, the cost appeared worthy of a great monarch. Under such auspices considerations of time and expense would vanish almost entirely, rendering possible the attainment of a level of skill and richness probably never reached before or since. The costliness of such weavings occasioned Chardin to write, "*Il ne se fait point d'étoffe si chère par tout le monde.*"² He states that the best velvets were made at Yazd and Kashan, "and also at Ispahan."

The two former towns still retain something of their traditional fame. It is difficult to decide which has the greater claim to the production of the panel under discussion. Perhaps, after all, it was made at Ispahan, the Shah's new capital. The design shows a youth in rich Persian robes holding a flower in his hand and standing in a meditative attitude in a garden containing fish-ponds, cypresses, and flowers of various kinds. The figure is repeated four times in the panel. The ground throughout is of closely woven cloth of gold. The ponds are in silver thread, the ripples being indicated by lines of pale blue silk pile. Silver is used for details elsewhere in the panel. The silk pile is in eleven different colours—green, greenish-yellow, yellow,

¹ Chardin, as above, Vol. VII, p. 329.

² Chardin, Vol. IV, p. 153.

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pale yellow, orange, crimson, flesh-colour, dark and light blue, black, and white. These are changed for each repetition of the figure; the lines of the drapery, so delicate that they have the appearance of pen-work, are woven in black silk pile. The markings of the foliage of the cypress-trees, all in velvet, are of incredible fineness. The flowers spring from the margin of the ponds, from little mounds, and elsewhere in vacant spaces.

The Court weavers of the age of Shah Abbas seem to have specialized in the production of velvets and brocades with figure-subjects. Before the unexpected appearance of this example in India all the known designs had been tabulated. Those in velvet number about twenty; those in brocade about twenty-five.¹ Of all these, the fine coat under Baron Cederstrom's charge in the Royal Armoury at Stockholm shows the nearest resemblance.² The design shows a standing figure holding a long-necked bottle and a cup in a garden rendered by flowering plants and a pond. The design is much simpler, and the scale of the figure is smaller by about one-half. The ground is of gold, and the colours of the velvet pile are very brilliant. The coat belonged to King Charles X Gustavus (1654-1660). Its previous history is unknown.

The panel has been purchased for the Victoria and Albert Museum with the aid of contributions from the National Art-Collections Fund, Mr. Imre Schwaiger, Mr. Gordon Selfridge, Mr. G. P. Baker, Mr. Berberyan, Mr. Benardout, and an anonymous contributor.

¹ F. R. Martin, *Figurale Persische Stoffe aus dem Zeitraum, 1550-1650*, Stockholm, 1899. F. R. Martin, *Die Persischen Prachtstoffe im Schlosse Rosenberg*, Stockholm, 1901. *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. XXXVII, 1920, p. 237.

² C. A. Omsbahr, *Kongl. Lifrustkammaren*, Stockholm, 1897, Vol. I, Pl. 45. F. R. Martin, *Fig. Pers. St.*, Pl. 1.

THE LEGEND OF KṚṢṆA DVAIPĀYANA AT THE BAYON OF ANGKOR-THOM

By J. PRZYLUCKI

In an article compiled in 1923 for the volume of *Etudes Asiatiques* in commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient, I reviewed a number of myths or legends, the underlying idea of which is as follows: a great personage, god, hero or king, it may be, has for ancestor some aquatic animal, in which are concentrated the various energies of the watery world. Such legends are widely spread in the countries of Eastern Asia, and the source of their diffusion may be sought among the peoples who have inhabited Indo-China and neighbouring countries from prehistoric times. From these maritime countries we may suppose the legend to have spread at any early date among the peoples of the mainland, appearing in China as the legend of Pao-sseu (*Mémoires historiques de Sseu-ma Ts'ien*, trad. Chavannes, I, p. 281 et suiv.), in India metamorphosed into the legend of Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana (*Mahābhārata*, I, 63).

It is one of the plastic aspects of this same legend that I propose to examine in this paper, in fact, a different version which is found in Cambodia. This time, however, the myth does not find oral or written expression, but is sculptured in stone. The bas-reliefs of the Angkor-Thom Bayon, as we shall see, tell the story of the hero born of a fish, a legend analogous to if not identical with that of Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana.

I

PLATE 45

This is how the relief is described and interpreted by Mons. Coedès, author of the *Notice archéologique sur le Bayon d'Angkor-Thom* (Le Bayon d'Angkor-Thom, d'après les documents recueillis par la mission Henri Dufour, avec la collaboration de Ch. Carpeaux, Paris, E. Leroux, 1913, p. 19, and *ibid.*: Galeries intérieures, face Sud, aile Est, planche 31).

"A king seated on his throne is receiving the offering of a fish presented to him by a man clad in a loin-cloth. The latter is accompanied by another man similarly clad, while other figures wearing a sort of tunic are grouped at the foot of the throne. They are two fishermen, we may suppose, with courtiers round them. In the belly of the fish a child is sitting. The king makes as if to cleave the back of the fish with his outstretched sword. To the right may be seen the child delivered and given to the queen, who welcomes him with outstretched arms. The scene must without doubt be taken to depict the legend of Pradyumna, son of Kṛṣṇa and Rukmiṇī, as related in the Viṣṇu purāṇa (v. 27) and the Bhāgavata purāṇa (x. 55)."

In a note Mons. Coedès adds: "It would be quite possible to interpret this as the legend of the two children Matsya and Satyavati conceived by an Apsaras metamorphosed into a fish and offered by the fishermen to King Uparicara (*Mahābhārata*,

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Adiparva LXIII, Ādivamśāvatāraṇa), but the details agree less well with our relief, where the fish contains only one child."

The relief in question, however, could not be taken to represent the legend of Pradyumna. In point of fact the infant figured in the belly of the fish is not a boy but a girl. Doubtless in the Mahābhārata the fish gives birth to twins, while at Bayon the sculptors have represented the princess only; but I have shown elsewhere (*Etudes Asiatiques, La princesse à l'odeur de poisson et la nāgī*) that in the legends of Eastern Asia the fish gives birth to only one child. The detail of the twins may well be an invention of the Indian storytellers, and it is not surprising that the Cambodian sculptors have retained the primitive tradition as to this point.

The removal of this difficulty enables us to recognize in Plate 45 the first scene of the legend of Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana: the fish brought by the fisherman is none other than the Apsaras Adrikā metamorphosed into a female fish and fertilized by King Uparicara. It is this monarch whom we see enthroned in his palace. To left and right of him are the queens surrounded by their followers. The king makes as if to cut open the belly of the fish with his sword and delivers the young Satyavatī: the child is given to one of the queens on the right, who holds her hands out to receive her. This interpretation is removed from any possibility of doubt, because the same legend explains not only the relief catalogued as No. 31 in the work of Dufour and Carpeaux, but also, as we shall see, the two reliefs which follow.

II

PLATE 47

Here the figures are arranged in three planes. In the lowest we see a river with boats gliding upon it and aquatic animals. In the centre of the principal boat, under a richly ornamented awning, is enthroned a figure, apparently a queen or a princess.

In the next plane on the bank of the river are figures prostrated in prayer. Before them on a pedestal supported by a lotus flower we see a mere shapeless block of stone. The stone corresponds probably to an ancient idol, before which the people figured on the relief were wont to prostrate themselves. It is known, in fact, that at Bayon certain parts of the monument were in early times decorated with Buddhas. Most of these images have been chipped away and replaced by lingas which have subsequently suffered the same fate (Parmentier, *B. E. F. E-O.*, T. XVIII, p. 66).

In the third plane are seen divine beings floating in the air. Just below the principal group two persons are carrying a gong, and behind them is seen a third, whose business it may have been to sound it.

This relief again may be interpreted by means of the Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana legend. The Mahābhārata tells us that after her birth, Satyavatī, the princess born of a fish, was told to take her father's boat, and it must be the princess whom we see seated beneath the awning in the royal craft. This circumstance, it is true, does not tally exactly with the story as told in the epic, which describes the girl at work as a slave,

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but the Cambodians, it appears, had lost the tradition of the disgrace of the princess. In the relief we see her travelling by boat to the place of pilgrimage, where she is to meet ṛṣi Parāśara.

It is indeed this very pilgrimage that we see depicted on the river bank, where the pious are prostrate in adoration. Doubtless the gods have preceded them in the performance of the rites, for the divine beings shown in the third plane appear to be withdrawing from the holy place.

Were the gods then in the habit of making the pilgrimage to the tirtha? Proof may be found in the Buddhist and Jain texts. In the commentary of Mahāgovinda Sutta (on Digha Nikāya pali II, p. 220, l. 18) we read that the gods meet together at the end of the Vassa and consult as to where they shall celebrate the pavāraṇā. Sakka on this occasion generally betakes himself to the great monastery of Piyaṅgudīpa escorted by a cortege of gods. The same belief among the Jains is attested by the Udayana tale (cf. J. J. Meyer, *Hindu Tales*, pp. 101, 102). There we see the gods going in pilgrimage to the island Nandīśvara; one of them, Vidyumālin by name, carries a drum suspended from his neck. He marches at the head of his companions beating his drum and accompanied by singers. Our relief doubtless depicts a similar scene, but the sculptor having no room for the drummer at the heads of the gods has placed him below the divine cortège.

III

PLATE 46

This relief is an extension of the preceding. In the first plane the river is barred obliquely by an island with indented shore. In a pavilion on the island two persons are seated in conversation: the one on the right is a bearded hermit; at his side is silhouetted a slighter form which recalls the princess depicted sitting in the boat in the preceding relief. To the right of the pavilion a princess and her attendants are about to place an infant in a wickerwork box which rests on the ground.

In the second plane, on the bank of the river, in the same line with the worshippers, rises a royal palace with three domes much as that shown in Plate 45. The throne in the centre is unoccupied, at the sides are seated the queens with their attendants. This relief represents the birth of Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana. When the ṛṣi Parāśara saw the princess, born of a fish, he desired her; but she was afraid of being expelled from her father's house. "By union with you," she said, "I should lose my virginity." The ṛṣi answered: "After my desire was accomplished you would be no less virgin than before." Thereupon union took place with Parāśara, and she gave birth at once to a son. The child was placed on an island, and for this reason was called Dvaipāyana.

The meeting of the ṛṣi and the princess is figured in the first plane under the pavilion to the left. On the right may be seen the child, not placed defenceless in the open air, but in a chest resting on the ground.

While these events are taking place the royal throne remains unoccupied in the

THE LEGEND OF KRṢṆA DVAIPĀYANA

palace near by. This is doubtless because the ṛṣi Parāśara is a rājarṣi who forsakes his women for the princess born of the fish. On this point the Cambodian sculptors seem to have ennobled the Indian legend : in the Mahābhārata there is no indication that the ṛṣi Parāśara held kingly rank.

The progressive elevation of the legend is illustrated by the evolution of the preceding episode. In the oldest versions the princess was exposed on a raft as an outcast (*La princesse à l'odeur de poisson*). In the Mahābhārata she is told to take her father's boat. At Bayon, she is depicted under the awning of the royal barge.

TWO MUGHAL PAINTINGS, WITH PORTRAITS OF 'ALĪ MARDĀN KHĀN

BY A. COOMARASWAMY

The two Mughal paintings reproduced in the accompanying plates are of considerable interest from several points of view. They are very accomplished and rather splendid examples of Mughal painting; they can be closely dated; they are of historic interest especially in that they contain evidently authentic likenesses of 'Alī Mardān Khān, a Persian who occupied a very important position at the Mughal court in the latter part of Shāh Jahān's reign; and depict very clearly contemporary architecture, costume and court etiquette. Because of its bearing on the dating of the pictures we shall summarize the history of Ganj 'Alī Khān and his more famous son 'Alī Mardān Khān. The former was a Kurd, and a trusted servant of Shāh 'Abbās I; for nearly thirty years he was governor of Kermān. When Shāh 'Abbās in 1622 recovered Qandahar from Jahāngīr's occupying forces, Ganj 'Alī Khān was made governor of Qandahar: he died in 1625, and was succeeded by his son 'Alī Mardān Khān as governor. The latter in 1637-1638 surrendered the post to Qulij Khān, governor of Lahore, representing Shāh Jahān. He was then made governor of Kashmīr. Summoned thence in 1639-1640, he was made governor of the Panjab in addition; in the following year he was made governor of Kabul, and in 1643-1644 received the title of Amīru'l-Umarā. He died in 1657. 'Alī Mardān Khān's eldest son 'Abdullāh Beg had attained to high rank before his father died in 1657. Subsequently in the reign of Aurangzeb he received the title of Ganj 'Alī Khān, which, as we have seen, had also been the style of his grandfather.¹

The first picture² here reproduced (Plate 48) represents the courtyard of a fort or palace, in which a magnificent ceremony is taking place. It seems to be the left-hand half of a double picture. The two chief figures, one standing erect and slightly to the left of the central point of the picture, the other standing on the right, immediately above the white horse, and bowing, are designated by inscriptions in small Persian characters as Ganj 'Alī Khān, and 'Alī Mardān Khān. These names are found in the first case to the left of the head, in the second upon the skirt of the coat. I see no reason to doubt the contemporaneity of the inscriptions or the authenticity of the portraits. Both men are splendidly attired in plumed and jewelled turbans, long Persian coats, and *kamaband*; Ganj 'Alī Khān wearing also a loose cloak. They are accompanied by grooms with Arab horses, and splendidly attired servants with trays of jewels, evidently intended as gifts. Standing next to 'Alī Mardān Khān are three men in Mughal court costume; another of the same type stands alone in the middle of the yard, looking toward the band-stand. The

¹ More detailed biographies will be found in the *Masira-i-Umarā*, fasc. I-VI, trans. by H. Beveridge, Calcutta, 1911-1913, pp. 186, 572.

² In the collection of Babu Sitārām Lal of Benares. Published in part in *Orientalische Archiv*, III, 1, pl. III, and there erroneously identified as representing the surrender of Qandahar in 1638.

TWO MUGHAL PAINTINGS

musicians in the Naubāt Khāna also seem to be Indians. Of the group at the gate, the man with a gun seems to be a Firinghi.

As father and son were not alive together after 1625, and as the grandson did not receive the title of Ganj 'Alī Khān until after the son's death, there can be little doubt that the event represented took place before 1625. It seems most likely then that the event in question is the fall of Qandahar in 1622, and the particular circumstance the appointment of Ganj 'Alī Khān as governor. On the other hand, we must observe that this is a purely Mughal painting, and that the costumes, on the whole, suggest a later period than the reign of Jahāngir; and it is unlikely that Jahāngir should have commissioned so splendid a work representing the loss of Qandahar. In 1638, however, 'Alī Mardān Khān became a trusted and highly honoured officer of the court of Shāh Jahān, after he had delivered Qandahar to the representatives of the latter. It is most likely that it was at this time that the order was given to prepare a series of pictures representing the great events of the recent history of Qandahar: the order may have been given by Shāh Jahān, or by 'Alī Mardān Khān himself. The portrait of Ganj 'Alī Khān would then be based on some earlier portrait, such as 'Alī Mardān Khān no doubt possessed; and we should have a parallel to the well-known representation of Akbar in a darbar scene painted in the reign of Jahāngir.¹

The second picture,² not quite so splendid as the first, represents an elephant fight.

Shāh Jahān is seated in one of the two golden pavilions of the Khās Mahall in the Agra fort, the Samman Būj being seen on the right, the central building of the Khās Mahall on the left. Princes are seated right and left of Shāh Jahān, in the same pavilion. In a balcony immediately below are standing the courtiers of highest rank: amongst these, the third figure from the left, wearing a white and gold turban with magnificent plumes, evidently represents 'Alī Mardān Khān. The features and the head-dress are almost identical with the representation of 'Alī Mardān Khān (painted most likely about a year earlier) in the picture reproduced in Plate 48. Below the balcony is a triple arch, with doorways to right and left, and below this stands a more numerous group of less distinguished courtiers, who are divided from the arena by a low white wall. Of these courtiers, one immediately under the central arch is perhaps a Portuguese. In the arena (which is situated below the walls of the fort, between the fort and the river, the spectator's point of view being on or near the river itself) two elephants, each with a *mahaut* and assistant, are fighting across a low bank; all around are standing attendants armed with prongs and fireworks to incite or to separate the elephants.³

The picture has contemporary inscriptions in Persian characters. The text of the

¹ Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 14, 654; *Portfolio of Indian Art*, Boston, 1923, Plate LXXXVI.

² Belonging to Messrs. Pariah-Watson of New York, to whom I am indebted for the opportunity of reproducing it here.

³ A similar elephant fight, at a later stage, showing the arena only, is illustrated in British Museum MS. Add. 22470, fol. 9.

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inscriptions is written in very minute characters, and somewhat abraded, and I cannot be perfectly certain of every letter. Four inscriptions are found, as follows. Immediately under *Shah Jahān* is a three-line inscription giving the names of the two princes and a signature, as follows :

Shābih Bisarkān Hazrat 'Alī
va Shābih . . . Shāhzādah 'Ālambān
'Amal kamtirinzād.

(The doubtful words are *Bisarkān*, probably = *Bizurgān*, " Their Excellencies " ; and the *bān* of 'Ālambān, where we might expect 'Ālamgīr.)

In the central compartment of the triple arch is written '*Amal Kamtirin Khānazādān Būlāqī va Lad . . . va Shānk*

1049 *hijra*

(The doubtful parts are *Lad* and the *n* of *Shānk*)

Above each elephant is written its name :

on the left, *Shābih Bhāshma-Dil* ;
on the right, *Shābih Jang-Judhā*.

The picture measures .223 × .347 m., rather above the average size of a *Mughal* painting ; the original borders are not preserved.

The names of the princes seated with *Shāh Jahān* are difficult to understand. The younger may well be *Ālamgīr*, who was twenty-one in 1639 ; but the termination of the name is somewhat abraded and cannot be clearly deciphered. *Shāh Jahān*, whose likeness is well known, was fifty years of age in 1639 ; his beard, in the picture, is streaked with grey.

As regards the artists, the first signature signifies merely " the work of the humble ones." The second reads : " the work of the humble *Khānazāds Būlāqī and Lad and Shānk*," the last two names a little doubtful. It may be remarked that the well-known " *Darbar of Akbar*," now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (*Portfolio of Indian Art*, Boston, 1923, Plate 86) dateable about 1620, preserves a part of the artists' signatures, beginning in the same way, " '*Amal kamtirin khānazādān*," and we know further from *Jahāngīr*, I, p. 60, and II, p. 20, that the designation *Khānazād* (" born in the house ") might be applicable to a painter. It is more than probable that in many cases both the profession and attachment to the palace service were hereditary.

As regards the date of our picture, the reading 1049 A.H., equivalent to 1639-1640 A.D., seems to me best ; but there is another reading that might also be possible. The reading " four " is made practically certain by two facts, (1) the building of the *Khās Mahall* was only begun in 1636, and (2), 'Alī Mardān *Khān* surrendered the fort of *Qandahar* in 1637-1638, and only then became a servant and courtier of *Shāh Jahān*.

TWO MUGHAL PAINTINGS

What seems to be a later copy of a portrait of 'Ali Mardān Khān, a standing figure, in the collection of H.H. the Maharāna of Udaipur, is reproduced in "Loan Exhibition of Antiquities" (Delhi, 1911), *Archæological Survey of India*, n.p., n.d., Plate 52, A ; the resemblance to our examples is sufficient, but the moustaches are longer.

ANIMAL STANDARDS IN INDONESIA AND THEIR CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE

By G. ELLIOT SMITH

The symbolism expressed in representations of animal-forms and in the creation of mythical monsters played a very prominent part in primitive art and belief; and much of it has survived in a much modified form in heraldic designs and national emblems, such as flags and crests. Yet no adequate attempt has yet been made to probe deeply into the mode of origin and the essential meaning of this strange practice.

It will probably be discovered that the early use of animal symbols was genetically related to the invention of the system now commonly called totemism, which in the nascent stage of civilization exercised a conspicuous influence in moulding social practices and determining the behaviour and beliefs of every individual. But the ideas associated with animal symbolism also permeated many phases of early culture that are not included in the category of totemism.

In former memoirs, such as *The Evolution of the Dragon* (1919) and *Elephants and Ethnologists* (1924), I have collected some data for the discussion of this difficult problem, and do not intend now to traverse the ground covered in those works. But I mention them here to call attention to certain fundamental facts.

The earliest deity seems to have been the Great Mother, who was identified with the Divine Cow, presumably because the cow was the giver of milk to human children, and for that reason was identified with the parent of mankind, and eventually regarded as being herself human, or superhuman, and actually the mother of human children. The venomous cobra and the man-killing lioness also became surrogates of the Great Mother, at first to express her homicidal action in devising human sacrifice to obtain life-giving blood for use as an elixir of life in the practice of her divine and beneficent functions as the Giver of Life.

When at some subsequent period a dead king was regarded as the god Osiris and identified with the life-giving waters of irrigation his divine powers were assimilated with those of the Great Mother, and both he himself and his son upon earth, the reigning king, became identified with the bull, the cobra, and the lion, whose functions were rationalized to fit the change of sex.

How the dog (or jackal) acquired the symbolic meaning as a life-giver (and the most important functionary in superintending the process of conferring a prolongation of existence upon the dead king, i.e. the attainment of the immortality of a god) is quite unknown. But the identification of the king with a falcon (hawk or eagle) seems to have been due to the naïve belief that this bird's powers of flight made it the appropriate messenger whereby the god's representative upon earth could communicate with his father (the Sun-god in the sky).

In the present article I propose to examine one aspect of this vast subject which I think can be regarded as a specific illustration of the fundamental purpose underlying the whole subject of animal symbolism.

ANIMAL STANDARDS IN INDONESIA

For some years I had been groping for some explanation (or even a tentative working hypothesis in adumbration of a reasonable interpretation) of the use of animal-standards in Ancient Egypt. The custom must have had some profound cultural significance, for it was observed for twenty centuries and more, throughout the most vital period of Egyptian history. Walking through the galleries of the Rijks Ethnographisch Museum in Leyden three years ago, in the company of Dr. W. W. Rassers, the Assistant Director, I was amazed to see a modern example of such a standard, complete in every detail, which was obtained in the small island of Alor, between Flores and Timor, in the Malay Archipelago. Dr. Rassers kindly gave me notes and references as to the use of such objects by the Indonesian people; and Dr. Juynboll, the Director of the Museum, had photographs made of this and another standard, which he has generously permitted me to use for the purposes of this article, as Plates 50 and 51, A and B.

Plate 50 shows a Naga Standard from the Island of Alor, now in the Rijks Ethnographisch Museum in Leyden (No. 1016/1 in the Museum Catalogue).¹

Dr. Rassers has given me the following notes. The donor of the specimen (represented in Plate 50) states that this naga-standard protects them from illness and other evils, and for that reason they worship it.

When they are about to plant *padi* (rice) or *djagung* (maize), they address the naga in such terms as the following: "Naga ular, we are going to plant padi and djagung: take care that we succeed in our work and that no evil comes to us, so we may be able to offer you the first-fruits of the harvest." As soon as the rice and maize are harvested, the naga is given some of the grain, which is placed in a little bowl, along with a cup of water, upon the perch or board of the standard, just in front of the naga's mouth.

[In Plate 50 the receptacle for the food is not clearly visible in the photograph; but in Fig. 1, which I have copied from Heer W. O. J. Nieuwenkamp's drawing, Afb. IV, in *Mijn Bezoek aan Alor*,² the two vessels are clearly shown.]

The donor of the standard represented in Plate 50 continues his statement as

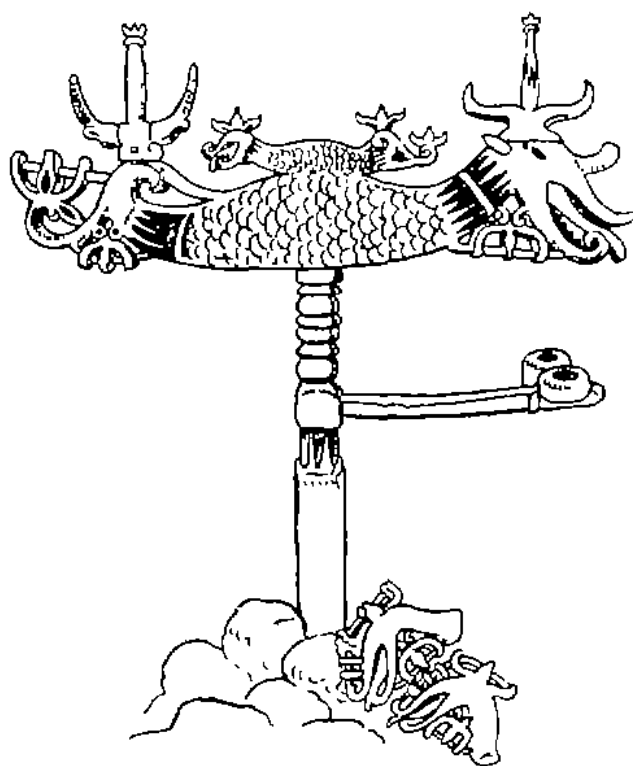


Fig. 1.—A copy of Heer Nieuwenkamp's drawing of another Naga Standard from Alor showing the two receptacles for food and drink; in this case supported on a horizontal bar, no special perch being provided for the Naga horizontal support.

¹ From a photograph kindly provided by the Director, Dr. Juynboll.

² *Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, 2nd Ser., XXXVII, 1920, p. 791. [I am indebted to Dr. Rassers for calling my attention to this interesting reference.]

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follows : When the dragon [naga] is supposed to have taken the food provided for it, it is again addressed in these words : " Naga, harvest is now finished : take care that we do not fall ill."

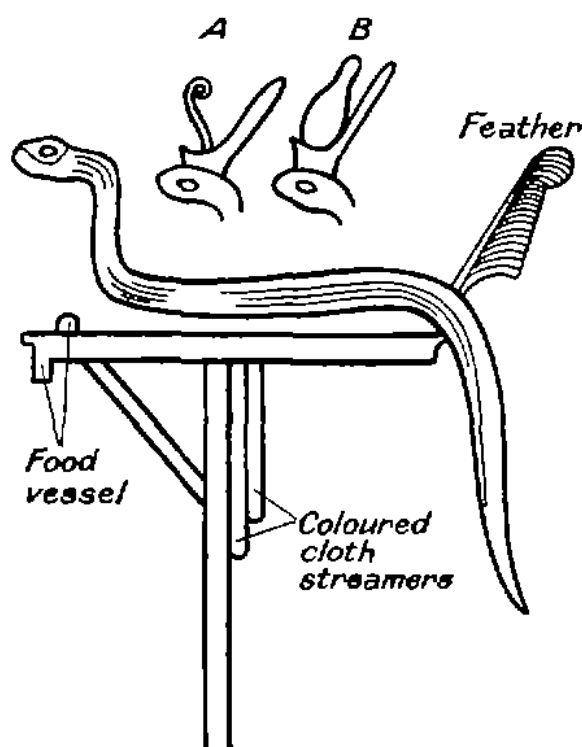


Fig. 2.—The Cobra Standard as the Name Sign of Aphroditopolis. A and B show the cobra's head wearing the single and the double crown of Egypt.

dragon). After the recovery of a patient who has been seriously ill, the shaman-magician who acted as physician during the illness constructs the ular-naga in accordance with a model that he claims to have seen in the clouds ; and with shouts of rejoicing the serpent-dragon is put upon a standard, which is set up in front of the house of the recovered patient, where it remains as his guardian spirit.

Before proceeding to examine the evidence provided by these interesting objects and the statements concerning their use, perhaps I should mention the fact that such customs and beliefs are not confined to the small islands of Alor and Pantar, but are widely diffused throughout the Malay Archipelago, and also in regions far distant in place and time from these we are now considering. In many ethnological museums similar nagas are displayed, both with and without standards, that have come from other parts of Indonesia.

Plate 51, Fig. B, for example, represents two specimens now in the storeroom of the British Museum, concerning which Mr. T. Athol Joyce (who kindly gave me the photograph) has given me the note : " Effigies of *naga* or dragon used in exorcising demons, Milano, Rejang River, Borneo."

But there are in the British Museum other naga figures supported upon standards.

¹ From a photograph supplied by Dr. Juynboll, Director of the Rijks Ethnographisch Museum, Leyden.

ANIMAL STANDARDS IN INDONESIA

In his book, *Medicine, Magic and Religion*, which has recently been published, the late Dr. Rivers makes the following statements:¹

"An important feature of the rites performed by a priest when dealing with disease in the island of Nias is that he makes images of wood called *adu*, which probably represent ancestral ghosts. . . . The *adu* may be hung on a tree: it may be set up before the patient, or before or on the roof of his house. Or it may be thrown into a river" (pp. 66 and 67).

In these statements I should like to emphasize the fact that the dragon or naga (the Indian cobra identified with the king who controls the life-giving powers of water for agriculture) is accredited not merely with the ability to promote satisfactory harvests and to cure disease, but also to safeguard existence by warding off dangers of all sorts. Thus it becomes his guardian spirit in a very special sense, a secret helper which is also identified with his ancestors (or, as Dr. Rivers expresses it, his ancestral ghost).

During his long residence in Sarawak Dr. Charles Hose acquired an exceptionally intimate knowledge and understanding of the customs and beliefs and manner of thought of the peoples of Borneo. A good deal of information regarding the significance of these naga-standards or model "crocodiles" is given in the book, *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, written by him in collaboration with Professor William McDougall, as well as in their memoir on "The Relations between Men and Animals in Sarawak."² Dr. Hose tells me that the so-called "crocodile" (see Plate 145 in *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, Vol. II, p. 4) plays a very important part in almost every phase of the daily life of the people, not only of Borneo, but also of the whole Malay Archipelago. Throughout this area, as well as in other parts of the world, the form assumed by the mythical cobra (known in India and the regions affected by its cultural influence as the naga, and in China and Japan as the dragon) is often confused with the crocodile, so that the attributes of the naga-dragon are often conferred in popular belief upon the actual living crocodile. One quotation from Hose and McDougall³ will suffice to establish the reality of this identification. An intelligent Iban (Sea-Dyak) from the Batang Lupar told Dr. Hose that "Klieng (the mythical warrior-hero and demi-god) first advised the Ibans to make friends with Pulang Gana (the special deity who presides over the cultivation of rice, with whom the crocodile also is very intimately associated), who is a Petara and the grandfather of padi.⁴ Pulang Gana first taught them to plant padi and instructed them in the following rites:

"On going to a new district Ibans always make a life-size image of a crocodile in clay on the land chosen for the padi-farm. The image is made chiefly by some elderly man of good repute and noted for skilful farming. Then for seven days the house is 'mali,' i.e. under special restrictions—no one may enter the house or

¹ Quoting J. P. K. de Zwaan, *Die Heilkunde der Niasser*, Haag, 1913, pp. 52 et seq.

² *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, Vol. XXXI, 1901, p. 173.

³ *Op. cit.*, 1901, p. 198.

⁴ Dr. Hose spells this word for rice "paddy"; but to avoid inconsistency I have retained the spelling already used in transcribing the notes given me by Dr. Rassers.

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do anything in it except eat and sleep. At the end of the seven days they go to see the clay crocodile and give it cloth and food and rice-spirit and kill a fowl and a pig before it. The ground around the image is kept carefully cleared and is held sacred for the next three years, and if this be not done there will be poor crops on the other farms. When the rites are duly performed this clay crocodile destroys all the pests which eat the rice."

"Many Ibans claim the live crocodile as a relative, and . . . will not eat the flesh of crocodiles nor kill them, save in revenge when a crocodile has taken one of their household. They say that the spirit of the crocodile sometimes becomes a man just like an Iban, but better and more powerful in every way." "Another reason given for their fear of killing crocodiles is that Ribai, the river-god, sometimes becomes a crocodile; and he may become also a tiger or a bear. Klieng [the divine culture hero], too, may become any one of five beasts, namely, the python, the maias [orang-utan], the crocodile, the bear or the tiger."

The Punans regard the crocodile as the Supreme Spirit. "They sometimes make a wooden image of it, and hang it before the leaf-shelter or hut in which they may be living at any time, and if one of their party should fall ill they hang the blossom of the betel-nut tree on the figure, and the medicine man addresses it when he seeks to call back the wandering soul of his patient."¹

But the people whom Dr. Hose distinguishes by the name Klemantans or Kalamantans seem to have more intimate relations with the crocodile than other tribes. They are in the habit of addressing a crocodile in such terms as: "Be easy, grandfather, don't mind us, you are one of us." But they regard the animal not only as a close relative but one who formerly could speak to warn them of danger.

"Many, probably all, Klemantans put up wooden images of the crocodile before their houses, and many of them carve the prow of their war-canoes into the form of a crocodile's head with gaping jaws."²

They also tie leaves of the *dracaena* below the bows of their boat for the reason that they believe the crocodiles will thereby recognize their kinsmen in the boat and abstain from attacking them.

"The Batu Blah peoples (Klemantans) on returning from the war-path make a huge effigy of a crocodile with cooked rice, and put fowl's eggs in its head for eyes and bananas for teeth, and cover it with scales made from the stem of the banana plant. When all is ready it is transfixed with a wooden spear and the chief cuts off its head with a wooden sword. Then pigs and fowls are slaughtered and cooked and eaten with the rice from the rice-crocodile, the chiefs eating the head and the common people the body."³

In addition to images of the crocodile (the ular-naga) the people of Sarawak also model the hawk in the same way to set up in front of their houses.⁴

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 196.

² Hose and McDougall, *op. cit.*, 1901, p. 194. [I have adopted the spelling "Klemantan" used by them in their later work.]

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 194.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 203.

ANIMAL STANDARDS IN INDONESIA

I have quoted so extensively from the writings of Hose and McDougall because the evidence points the way to the true explanation of the significance of animal standards and the profound importance of their symbolism in the interpretation of primitive belief.

At the outset of the discussion of the meaning of these practices the fact must not be overlooked that the same people who make naga-standards (a practice so clearly influenced by Indian beliefs relating to the *naga* and the *makara* or mythical "crocodile") to safeguard their lives and to provide abundant harvests are precisely those amongst whom have survived the practices of Babylonian hepatoscopy and of omen-reading, that demonstrate conclusively the Easterly diffusion of the ancient methods with which Babylonian and Etruscan archaeology and Latin literature have made us familiar. Hose and McDougall have insisted upon the similarity of the methods of reading the auspices in the modern East and the ancient West¹, and Warde Fowler has drawn the obvious inference.

But if the people of the Malay Archipelago have preserved these peculiar elements of culture (which they received from the West more than twenty centuries ago), the recognition of the fact ought to prepare our minds to recognize what is implicit in their use of animal standards and the peculiar beliefs in their efficacy to protect life and confer prosperity.

For the ular-naga standard of Alor presents something more than a mere likeness to the ancient Egyptian standards, which are known at least as early as the First Dynasty (3500 B.C.) and continued to be used for more than twenty centuries afterward.

Although there can be no doubt the people of the Malay Archipelago confuse the ular-naga with the crocodile, it is certain that the mythical animal represented is the naga or sacred cobra of India. As I have explained elsewhere,² the earliest deities of Egypt, Sumer, Crete, India, Eastern Asia, Oceania, and America were identified with venomous serpents; and in most of these places there were attributed to them powers of healing disease and protecting life, as well as of promoting good harvests and of strengthening the vitalizing attributes of water.

The ular-naga of Indonesia clearly enjoyed the same reputation for life-giving powers in these two senses, and can be linked in the closest bonds of cultural unity with these practices in all the ancient civilizations.

What I am particularly concerned with in this essay, however, is to consider the symbolism of the standards and their deeper cultural meaning and associations.

The standard from Alor shown in Plate 50 reveals three features to which I want to call special attention: (a) the pieces of cloth, white, red, and dark blue (corresponding to the colours painted on the naga itself); (b) the curious appendage attached to the model where the body of the naga bends upwards toward the tail, the identification of which as a feather is perhaps more obvious in the Pantar model (Plate 51); and (c) the peculiar object upon the head of the Alor naga.

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 175-181; also *Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, Vol. II, Chapter XV and elsewhere.

² *The Evolution of the Dragon*, pp. 228-232.

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In attempting to interpret the meaning of these features the close resemblance of the Indonesian and Egyptian standards cannot be ignored. In the report upon "The Temple of the Kings at Abydos," Mr. A. St. G. Caulfield¹ has reproduced

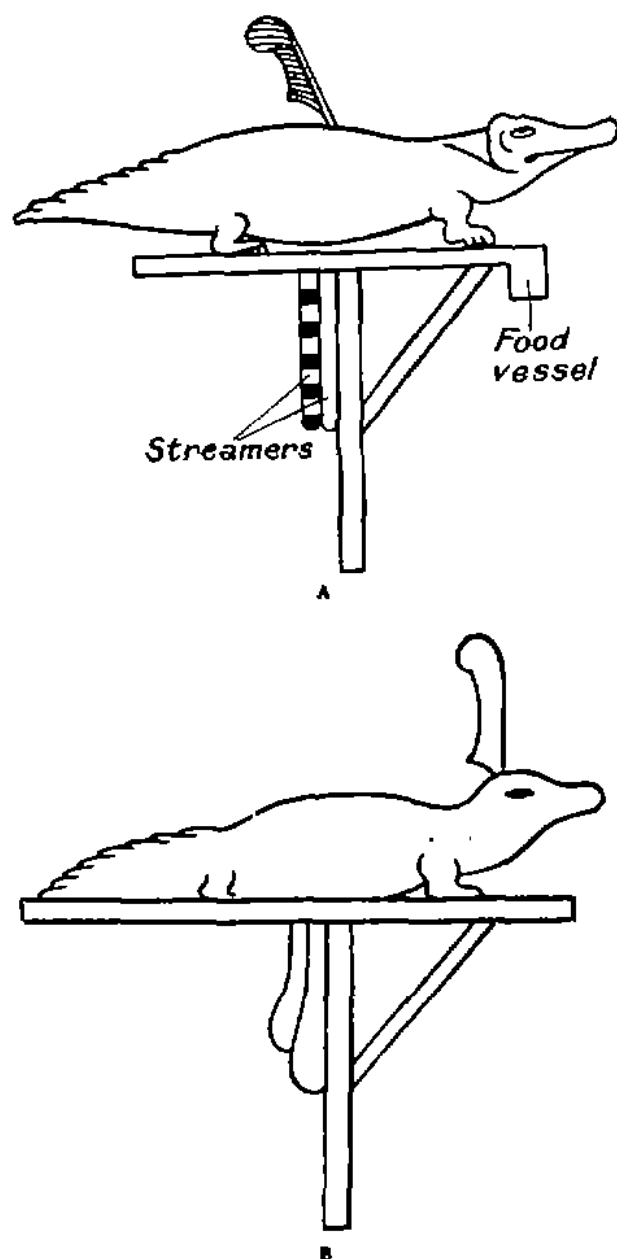


Fig. 5.—Two ways of representing the Crocodile Standard of the Nome of Denderah—one with the feather stuck in the back, the other upon the head.

a large series of Egyptian standards drawn at the time of Seti I, three of which are shown here as Figs. 2 and 3.

The analogy in the practice of making such standards and their resemblance is further emphasized by the presence in both of the irrelevant feather, the coloured streamers, and the food vessel or vessels. The representation of the conventionalized feather in the two models is so peculiarly distinctive as to leave no room for doubt that there must be some genetic connexion between the Indonesian and Egyptian customs, which prompted an association so bizarre and unnatural as a feather as an appendage to a snake's body. But if this connexion is admitted, the mystery of the head-appendage on the Alor naga is resolved: it is clearly the crown of Egypt, with which the serpent was often embellished (Fig. 2, A and B) by Egyptian artists.

The Egyptians portrayed a great variety of animals on their standards, any (or all) of them with the irrelevant feather implanted in its back: but I selected the cobra (*uraeus*) because it represents the prototype of the Indian naga, which in turn was adopted in Indonesia by the makers of the Alor standard. The use of such standards

in Egypt goes back to a time more than twenty centuries before that of

Seti the Great, for they are represented upon the great mace and the state palette of King Narmer found by Mr. J. E. Quibell at Hierakonpolis in Upper Egypt.²

¹ Egyptian Research Account, Eighth Year, 1902.

² For an important discussion of this subject see the "Note upon an Early Egyptian Standard," by C. G. Seligman and Margaret A. Murray, in *Man*, No. 97, 1911; for photographs of some interesting

ANIMAL STANDARDS IN INDONESIA

In standards of the Pyramid Age, represented upon the slate statuettes found in 1909 by Professor George A. Reisner in the temple of Mycerinus at Giza, the feather is already shown stuck in the back of the animal upon the standard. The latter also is now definitely revealed as the symbol of a district (or nome) of Egypt, each of which had its distinctive standard. But at the earlier period, which Seligman and Murray have interpreted with clear insight, the standards seem to have had some other purpose. Four of them were carried before the king, representing respectively two hawks (or falcons), a jackal, and an object that they regard as the king's placenta, an interpretation which has been corroborated by further information since Seligman and Murray first made the suggestion.¹

Comparison of these early standards one with the other suggests that the coloured streamers of the later standards (the red, white, and blue² of the Indonesian examples) may originally have been representations of the umbilical cord, and have had the symbolic meaning of establishing connexion with the placenta. The Baganda beliefs recorded by Canon John Roscoe³ suggest that originally the dead king and his placenta (called his "twin") must be brought together to ensure his survival; and that the umbilical cord was symbolic of the re-establishment of the union which had previously been broken at the time of birth.

In *The Evolution of the Dragon* I have suggested how the necessity of providing some dwelling-place for the "life" when during sleep, illness, or death it seemed to become separated from the body seems to have impressed upon early people the importance of the placenta. It was regarded by them as a mass of the same menstrual blood from which also the foetus itself was formed.⁴ It was thus in a very special sense a reservoir of the vital and intellectual powers (under the direct control of the moon) which could renew the life and consciousness of the "twin." The umbilical cord was the symbol of the channel of communication with this source of vital substance. Further research may decide whether or not the present Indonesian custom of tying coloured streamers to the ular-naga as a supplication (or a thank-offering for services rendered) is a modification of the symbolism of the umbilical cord.

When it is recalled that the first deities in all the ancient civilizations were originally women, identified with the moon, and endowed with powers of life-giving, with healing sickness and promoting agricultural prosperity, one can perhaps realize the rôle attributed to the placenta (the Egyptian *ka*, the Iranian *fravashi*, the *kelah* of the Karens, and perhaps the *ngarong* of the Ibans of Borneo) as the "secret helper" to afford assistance in times of crisis or difficulty. Recalling the fact that

types of early standards see Jean Capart, *Primitive Art in Egypt* (London, 1905), Figs. 164, 177, 181 and 187.

¹ For bibliographical references and further analogies see my work, *The Evolution of the Dragon* (pp. ix-xi, 46-52 and 73-74).

² The natural colours of the umbilical cord.

³ *The Baganda*, pp. 52, 236.

⁴ "In my mother's womb I was fashioned to be flesh in the time of ten months, being compacted of blood and the seed of man" (*Wisdom of Solomon*, VII, 2).

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this earliest deity was identified with a poisonous serpent, it is not surprising that the helper is given the form of a naga.

The Ngarong plays a part of great importance in the lives of some of the Iban people, who display extreme reluctance to discuss or even to refer to so sacred a subject.¹

It seems to be usually, but not always, the spirit of some ancestor or dead relative, who becomes the special protector of some individual Iban, to whom he manifests

himself in a dream in human form and informs the dreamer that he (the Ngarong) will be his secret helper. Subsequently the "secret helper" manifests itself in animal form.

If the facts concerning this "secret helper" in Borneo be compared with the Sumerian conception of "my god who walks at my side," and the symbolism of the Proto-Egyptian standards (Fig. 4) be used as pictorial corroboration,² some such working hypothesis as the following seems to emerge.

The placenta was the surplus material left over, so to speak, when life and intelligence were conferred upon a new individual at birth. It was, therefore, a repository of vital material to be drawn upon by its "twin" when life was in danger, and the natural habitation of his personality when during sleep or in death it was withdrawn from his body. The placenta was carried before the king upon a standard as a concrete demonstration of the fact that his life was, so to speak, insured. But the king, when a solar religion was adopted, was also depicted as a falcon, which could establish communion with his father (the Sun-god in the sky)

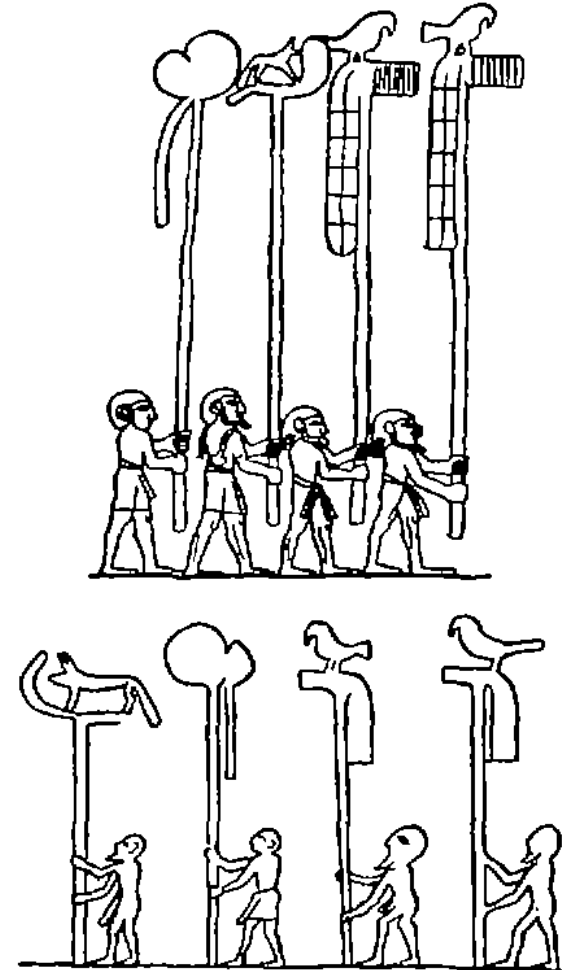


Fig. 4.—The most primitive forms of Egyptian Standards, after Quibell, *Hieroglyphs* (from Seligman and Murray's note).

A. Procession in front of the king from Narmer's palette.
B. Procession from Narmer's mace-head.

by its powers of flight. Perhaps the representation of two falcons upon Narmer's standards may be symbolic of the double kingdom and have been responsible for the later meaning given to such standards as emblems of districts or nomes, like our crests and flags.

¹ Hose and McDougall, *Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, Vol. II, p. 90.

² For bibliographical references to the Egyptian, Babylonian and Iranian evidence see *The Evolution of the Dragon* (pp. ix-11 and 213).

ANIMAL STANDARDS IN INDONESIA

The most important of the earliest Egyptian standards was the bearer of the king's placenta, and the secondary standards bore representations of the animals which for different reasons became symbols of him and his power of life-giving. If I am correct in supposing that the Ngarong or "secret helper" of the Ibans may have been the representative of the placental "secret helper" of other peoples, the fact that it assumed animal forms suggests the possibility of identifying these animals with the placenta. The interpretations of the coloured streamers in Egypt further corroborates the homology if they were merely symbols of the umbilical cord. When the relationship between totemic animals and family crests is recalled, there may be a survival of ancient belief in the old Japanese proverb relating to the mode of testing the legitimacy of a new-born child by washing the placenta in water, when the family crest is said to appear upon it if the child is legitimate.¹

The fact that the Ngarong of the Ibans usually represented the spirit of a dead ancestor affords interesting corroboration of its placental homology. Some years ago when the question of the identity of the Iranian *fravashi* with the Egyptian *ka* was under discussion, and I suggested² that the former, like the latter, may have been the placenta, a distinguished Avestan scholar raised the objection that originally the *fravashi* referred to the fathers or ancestors. But the facts adduced here (and in the documents cited) make it clear that the placenta may have been regarded as the ancestors, in the sense that it represented (much in the way the modern biologist speaks of germ plasm) the material out of which a new human being is formed. The animal forms given this ancestral "secret helper" were simply those with which for divers reasons the actual ancestors of the dead king were identified.

¹ Maude Rex Allen, *Japanese Art Motives*, Chicago, 1917, p. 236.

² *The Evolution of the Dragon* (pp. ix-xi).

THE TSUN SHĒNG PA CHIEN, A.D. 1591

BY KAO LIEN

Translated by ARTHUR WALRY, with Introduction and Notes by R. L. HOBSON.

INTRODUCTION

The views which Kao Lien expressed in 1591 on the classic Sung wares were considered sufficiently important to be included in the great K'ang Hsi encyclopædia; and Mr. Waley's translation of them will be welcomed by collectors to-day as a notable addition to Oriental ceramic literature.

Had Master Kao been alive in 1924 and residing in London, his introductory remarks would have needed little alteration, and would probably have been in the following sense: "In describing early Chinese wares the Ch'ai, Ju, Kuan and Ko are always discussed, but I have never seen a piece of Ch'ai ware, and it is extremely doubtful if I have seen a piece of Ju. Nor am I quite positive of having seen a specimen of Kuan or Ko. The descriptions of them all are a Chinese puzzle."

A few who have wrestled conscientiously with the puzzle flatter themselves that they can separate certain Kuan and Ko types from the crowd; and when China sends over a small vase with thick, crackled, grey glaze, carefully fitted into a silk-lined box inscribed "*Sung Ko yao incense vase*," they apply to it all the tests which have been collected from the Chinese books and, if it satisfies these, they accept it as a likely specimen of Ko ware. There is not, however, quite the same confidence displayed as there would have been had the piece in question been a Lung-ch'üan celadon dish or Chün ware bulb bowl. The fact is, our knowledge of the Kuan and Ko wares has not materially increased in the last few years, and I have nothing to add to the views expressed in my *Chinese Pottery and Porcelain* in 1915, except the brief note on p. 84 below.

Strangely enough, the little light that has come to us recently has fallen on the rarer and apparently hopelessly obscure Ch'ai and Ju wares. The arrival of many pieces of a pale blue or bluish white porcelain of the kind known as *ying ch'ing* (misty blue), which have been unearthed in various parts of China, has given food for new ideas, which Mr. G. Eumorfopoulos was the first to formulate in a paper read before the Oriental Ceramic Society. He sees in the *ying ch'ing*, not indeed the actual product of the Imperial Ju Chou kilns, but ware of the Ju type such as was made in several places close to the Yellow River. The Ju ware, we understand, emulated the Ch'ai: so if Ju type, then also Ch'ai. The theory is logically sound, and it does not break down in practice. The *ying ch'ing* porcelain, in fact, is the only known Chinese ware which fills the bill: "blue as the sky after rain, clear as a mirror, thin as paper, resonant as a musical stone." There are thin, translucent specimens of the bluish *ying ch'ing* porcelain to which these phrases are quite appropriate, allowance being made for a modicum of poetic licence. Here, however, Ts'ao Ming Ching would intervene with his objection concerning the yellow clay on the foot of the Ch'ai vessels. We waive him aside. For is there not almost always a patch of unglazed "biscuit" on the base of the *ying ch'ing* wares? And

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is it not almost always burnt to a reddish or yellowish colour? There is really no "discrepancy" here. Nor need we be scared at our presumption that we can visualise a ware which a 16th-century Chinese writer had never seen. Our guides have come from the graves which were sealed to him; and who knows but what some lucky excavation may yet bring to light even a piece of Ch'ai ware?

DESCRIPTION OF KUAN AND KO POTTERY WARE

Translated by A. WALEY; Notes enclosed in square brackets are by R. L. HOBSON.

Master Kao¹ said: In describing pottery ware Ch'ai, Ju, Kuan and Ko are always discussed. But I never have myself seen a piece of Ch'ai ware, and the descriptions of it do not agree. It is sometimes described as "blue as the sky, clear as a mirror, thin as paper, and resonant as a musical stone,"² showing it to have been a thin porcelain. But Ts'ao Ming-chung³ says that Ch'ai ware often has yellow clay at the foot. Whence the discrepancy?

Ju ware I have actually seen. In colour it is egg-white,⁴ the glaze is transparent and thick, like massed lard. In the glaze are palm-eyes (small round marks)⁵ hidden like crab's claw (crackles). On the bottom there are (marks like) sesamum-flowers, and fine small "stabbing nails."⁶ In my own collection there is a large

¹ i.e. Kao Lien himself.

² This is quoted by the *Po Wu Yao Lan* (17th century) as an "opinion of the ancients."

³ i.e. Ts'ao Chao in his small encyclopædia of art and archaeology, the *Ko Ku Yao Lun*, published in 1459. The passage referred to (VII, fol. 21 verso) runs literally: "Ch'ai wares . . . often are coarse yellow-clay footed."

⁴ [*Luan po* (egg-white) is a vague phrase, the kind of egg or the part of the egg intended not being specified. It is in any case not inconsistent with the "bluish white" of the *ying-ch'ing* glaze.]

⁵ The palm-tree's "eyes" must mean the nodules on its stem. Bushell (*T'ao Shuo*, p. 41) translated the same phrase "palm-leaf veining." These "eyes" are not, I think, compared in form to markings like crab's claws, but only share with them the characteristic of being half-hidden under the glaze.

The *Kuei T'ien Wai Sheng* (quoted, *T'u Shu*, XXXII, 248, *Tsa Lu*, 3) says that in the Yung Lo and Hsüan Tê periods the palace wares usually had the horse-mane eye and "sweet white" (*t'ien-po*). Here horse-mane is written with a character identical with "palm-tree" save that the "horse" radical occurs instead of the "tree" radical. In one of the two passages there may be a misprint. In descriptions of the early Ming porcelains palm-eyes are frequently mentioned as appearing in the glaze; and the term *t'ien po* is used to describe plain white wares as opposed to those with decorations.

⁶ Cf. the *Po Wu Yao Lan* quoted in *T'ao Shuo* II. Are these nails only figurative? A passage in the *Tien-kung K'ai-wu* (quoted *T'u Shu*, XXXII, 248, 15) seems to prove that real nails were sometimes found in old ware: "Old crackled ware is very highly valued by the Japanese. . . . Ancient incense-burners of crackled ware (I do not know their date) have at the bottom iron nails which retain their brightness undimmed by rust." [While it is possible that, under the likely conditions for firing the Ju ware, nails, if made of iron, would not actually melt, the presence of the metal in the ware must necessarily be attended with great danger; and the procedure implied in the text appears unreasonable and useless. The fact that no one living has seen an actual example of this hob-nailed pottery is not of course conclusive proof of its non-existence; but the Chinese potters were not given to indulging in stupid and unpractical proceedings. A likely explanation is that the writer is echoing in this passage some tradition in which a metaphor has been taken too literally. For instance, one might fairly describe

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double-gourd shaped vase (*hu*). Its rounded bottom is shiny, like a priest's tonsured skull, and the round part is thickly studded with fine small stabbing nails to the number of thirty or forty (lit: "several times ten"). The upper part is like an ocarina¹ when stood (on its flat end); the spout is like a pen-cap, about two inches long, sticking straight upwards. The mouth of the *hu* is about four inches in diameter; it has a basket-work covering. The belly is about a foot (ten Chinese inches) across. The vase is, indeed, remarkable in form.

I have also seen several large and small dishes, with round and shallow or with globular bodies, with contracted mouths and glazed foot-rims; and at the bottom were fine nails. Compared with Kuan yao, the above were of finer substance and more brilliant lustre.

Kuan yao is very similar to Ko. For colour, light blue (*fēn-ch'ing*)² takes the first place and thin white (*t'an-po*) the next. Of all colours the worst is "oily-ashes."³ As regards marking, crackles like ice-cracks and eel's blood are considered the best. Next come "plum-blossom" and "chips of ink-cake." Of all markings, fine crackles are the least admired. Of shapes, the *k'eng* cauldron (*ting*) of the Shang dynasty, the quite plain cauldron, the mamellated censer with hollow onion-stalk feet and upturned ears, the Shang dynasty bowl *hu* with pierced ears, the large animal-head flower-pattern *hu* and the Chou dynasty *hu* with pierced ears, the eared and ringed *hu* of the Han dynasty, the *fu-chi* urn (*tsun*) and the *tsu-ting*⁴ urn—all these were designed in accordance with (ancient) illustrated works and were used for presentation to the Emperor.

Whenever ordinary people see a *hu* with two ears they immediately call it an "aubergine-bag vase" (*ch'eh-tai p'ing*), without regard to the quality of its colour; not knowing that there exists a quite vulgar and ugly kind of ware which (like aubergine) is short and squat, with fat belly, but wholly lacking in beauty of proportions.

the studs round the side of the Chün ware bulb bowl as nail-heads—they are clearly a ceramic rendering of the metal studs on a bronze prototype, and someone, repeating the description in the parrot fashion which is unfortunately so characteristic of Chinese compilations, might describe them literally as nail-heads, and perhaps even add the word bronze or iron to make his story more circumstantial. Similarly the ring of "spur-marks" ("several tens in number"), usually seen on the base of a Chün ware bulb bowl, could fairly be described as "nail marks," as the little spurs which supported the vessel in the kiln were not unlike nails; and the rest of the story may have grown from a description of these. It is even possible that on some occasion actual metal nails were fixed in the spur-marks of a pot which some designing person wished to pass off as old Ju ware.]

¹ This instrument is discussed by Courant in the *Encyclopédie de la Musique*, I, 161.

² [*Fēn ch'ing* appears to describe the misty grey-green and bluish grey colours which the Sung glazes so often assume. *Ch'ing* is about the only colour-word in any language sufficiently indefinite to cover the many elusive tones of these variable glazes.]

³ [Oily ashes (*yu k'uei*) is doubtless a copyist's variation for the *hui sh'yu* "ash-coloured" glaze which occurs in other passages: *yu* (oil) being commonly used for glaze.]

⁴ Illustrations of these forms will be found in the *Hsi Ch'ing Ku Chien* (Catalogue of Ch'ien Lung's bronzes); for the *hu* with pierced ears see XX, 29 (reproduced here on Pl. 52, Fig. A).

For the *tsu-ting* urn, VIII, 3 (reproduced here, Fig. C); *fu-chi* urn, VIII, 9 (reproduced here, Fig. D).

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The above five shapes, to which may be added the form called Princess Ko's *hu*, were all exact imitations of ancient bronzes and constitute the first and most admirable class of Kuan pottery. It is absurd to class them all with the "aubergine-bag." Again the incense-burner in the shape of an onion-stalk footed cauldron, the ring-eared Ju¹ incense-burner, the small incense-burner which is "bamboo-jointed" and has feet like the cloud-board gong,² the small incense-burner with erect ears and cow-teet legs, the incense-burner in the shape of a halberd-eared sacrificial vessel, the large vase (*p'ing*) with dish mouths (down-turned rims) and girded belly, the *tsu-i ku*³ (square-based goblet), the "standing-lance" *ku*, the small round *ku* of the Chou dynasty, the *p'ing* (in the shape of) a paper-pulp beating pestle, the gall-bladder *p'ing*, the two-eared spoon and chop-stick *p'ing*, pen tubes, pen rests, mallow-flower pen-baths, tub-shaped large baths, the two types of globular-bellied basin and begging-bowl, the "water-sheriffs" (*shui chung-ch'eng*) of two different colours, the water-pourers shaped like two peaches, those shaped like erect gourds, like recumbent gourds, or recumbent aubergines, flat and shallow quiver-plates (*kao-p'an*) with contracted mouths, square colour-inlaid (*yin-se*) tanks, similar tanks with four inward-turned corners or with curled-down corners, incense-burners in the shape of an *i* (sacrificial vessel) with halberd-ears and decorated with the owner's seal (*t'u-shu*), small square *p'ing* for divining-straws, small imitations of the *hu* of the Han dynasty, bamboo-joint false-wall (*chia-pi p'ing*)—all these belong to the highest class of Kuan and Ko ware.

Tub-shaped incense-burners, hexagonal *p'ing*, *p'ing* with dish-mouths (*p'an kou*) in the shape of paper-pulp beaters, large *p'ing* for divining-straws, drum-shaped incense-burners, water-chestnut blossom wall-*p'ing* (i.e. for hanging on walls?), flower-pots (*kuan*) with many spouts, fat *hu* after the Han dynasty model, large cups, middle-sized cups (*wan*), tea-cups (*chan*), tea-trays, tea-ewers, tea-pots (*hu*) with handles like baskets,⁴ hexagonal wine-pots, gourd pots, lotus-blossom pots, square, round or octagonal wine-*pieh* (vessel with fat body and narrow spout), wine-cups (*pei*), every make of banquet-cup, large and small round plates, West of the River (Ho-hsi) plates, lotus-leaf dishes, shallow plates, plates with "barrel-hoops," water-tanks with rings of rope-pattern (☸), medium-sized and large "wine-oceans," square and round flower-pots (*p'ên*), iris-pots, long, hexagonal pots with a tortoise at the bottom and rings of rope-pattern on the back. Flower-vases (*kuan*) in the shape of holy images of Avalokitesvara (Kuan-yin), Maitreya (the future Buddha) and Lü Tung-pin; and flower-vases with chicken-heads; "potsherd-ladle" round ink-stones, chop-stick holders, chessmen and draughtsmen of either colour with inscriptions in seal character or *li* script, small saucers for resting chop-sticks

¹ Written with the same character as Ju-chou.

² See *Hsi Ch'ing Ku Chien*, XXIV, 12 (reproduced here, Pl. 52, Fig. 2).

⁴ [Tea-pots (*hu*). The shapes of these vessels are not indicated, and they may have been water-ewers used in the preparation of tea. It is usually held that the tea-pot form, as we know it, was first made by the Yi-hsing potter Kung Ch'un in the 16th century.]

³ Thus



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on, paper-weights in the form of a dragon or tiger—these constitute the second class of Kuan and Ko pottery.

The rest, such as the large, tall *p'ing* with two ears, the large dish a foot in diameter, the dice-pot, New Year fruit-boxes of large size with compartments shaped like the petals of a plum-blossom, pots to hold draughtsmen, large flat *i* and *tui* (sacri-ficial vessels) with animal ears, jars to hold tame-bird's food, small flower-vases for bird-cages; large and small level-mouthed medicine bottles, small eye-medicine bottles of various shapes, soap-bowls, medium-sized fruit-bowls, bowls for crickets, articles of family use, bowls for offering water before Buddha, small stand with "bound waist" and six legs; table-shaped plates and dish-shaped plates (for placing under) wine-vessels (?)—these constitute the lowest class of Kuan and Ko wares.

It must be realized that the inventive talent of the old potters was inexhaustible, and in a general discussion of this kind it would be impossible to give a complete list of all the types manifested by these two wares. I have therefore contented myself with a few examples.

The ware called Kuan ("official") was made during the Sung dynasty in the Surveyor's Office (*hsiu-nei-ssu*¹), for the use of officials. The factory was just below the Phoenix Hill² at Hangchow. Here the clay is of brownish colour, so that the rims of the feet of Kuan vessels are iron-coloured. People used to say of this ware: "Brown mouth and iron foot." The reason of the brown mouth is that the liquid glaze, being poured from above, ran down the side and covered the mouth less thickly than the rest of the vessel, so that at the mouth there were traces of the underlying brown. This is not in itself of any importance, but such points as the "iron foot" are valued because no other place possesses such admirable clay.

The Ko Yao was manufactured at a private kiln, but it too got its clay from this place.³ There are patterns hidden in the substance of Kuan Yao, such as the

¹ The *hsiu-nei-ssu* was responsible for keeping the Emperor's palaces in repair. The office is first mentioned in connexion with the period 1174-1190; it did not exist at all under the Northern Sung and disappeared again in Ming, but under the Mongols it was a recognized part of palace organization. It had nothing to do with pottery and the setting up of an official kiln within its precincts was a matter of accidental convenience. The author omits all mention of the Kuan Yao made for the Northern Sung at K'ai Feng Fu.

² One mile S.E. of the *hsien* of Hangchow.

³ ["The Ko yao was manufactured at a private kiln, but it too got its clay. . . ." One of the difficulties in identifying the Ko yao has been to reconcile the Chinese story of its origin with the nature of the reputed specimens. It is said to have been made by the elder of the brothers Chang who worked in the Lung-ch'üan district, in the south of Chekiang. The well-known celadon porcelain of this district has a greyish white body quite different from the dark-bodied ware usually seen in the later imitations of the Ko yao and in the specimens which purport to be original Ko. The key to the riddle seems to lie in Master Kao's statement "that the Ko yao was manufactured at a private kiln, but it too got its clay from this place." The elder brother apparently imported the dark Hangchow clay for his manufacture, and the same was probably done for the imitations of the Hangchow Kuan ware which we are told were made in the Lung-ch'üan district. The most convincing specimens we have

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crab's claw, and there are patterns hidden in the substance of Ko Yao, like the fish-roe; but the composition of the glaze in Ko Yao is distinctly inferior to that of Kuan.

Specimens produced at both factories occasionally were transformed in the furnace into strange shape,¹ such as butterfly, bird, fish, unicorn, leopard, or the like; or again strange colours appeared on top of the glaze—yellow, black, red, or purple, in forms of great beauty. But such effects must have been due to the magic artistry of fire; I do not see how else they can be explained. They would certainly be hard to repeat.

Of later manufactures both the Tung² and Wu-ni ware modelled upon Kuan, but were of coarse and poor paste, with the glaze all parched and scorched. In some cases they have been mistakenly included among Ko ware and are still classified as such.

Later wares such as the *Hsin Yao* (New Style ware) of the close of the Mongol dynasty cannot be compared to those which I have just been discussing. But in recent times some of the best work of the various kilns is quite good. But the brownish quality of "bone" (paste) and the *fên-ch'ing* colour are not really like the old models. The New Style wares of to-day are very far indeed from rivalling the products of the old kilns.

The *fên-ch'ing* colour is still made, but it is generally dry and without lustre. And even if lustrous, it is not satisfactory, for it tends to change to a greenish (*lū*) tint; though fools pay high prices for it.

There is another class of ware which has been rebaked. An ancient piece of Kuan or Ko for instance, such as an incense-burner which has lost a foot or ear or a vase which has lost its mouth or corner, and is patched with fragments of another ancient piece, being doctored outside with glaze and lined inside with paste, so that it is exactly like an old piece, except that the repaired part is darker in colour and the original parts become somewhat "scorched and dry," losing much of their brilliance. But such a piece is at any rate better than a piece of New Style ware.

Unfortunately in Kuan and Ko, there are only one or two specimens left in all China of such pieces as the onion-stalk cauldron incense-burner; while the mamelated incense-burner, the flower-ku and the like survive in a few score specimens.

seen of the Ko and the Hangchow Kuan wares have a dark-coloured body and a thick crackled glaze of the *ch'ing* grey.

There were doubtless commoner wares of Ko type, and in modern parlance "Ko glaze" is applied to a host of crackled buff and grey glazes on coarse porcelain bodies of no special character or quality.]

¹ [The "strange shape, such as butterfly, bird," etc., can only refer to the markings in the glaze and not, as it would seem, to the shape of the piece itself.]

² There are several variants of the character Tung. Here it is written as in Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, the name of the great 16th-century critic. [More often it is *tung* (East), and it has been suggested that the Tung ware was made at the Eastern Capital, K'ai-fêng Fu, and that it is, in fact, a celadon of the type known as "Northern Chinese celadon." The body of this ware has a buff-brown colour as distinct from the grey porcellaneous body of the Lung-ch'üan celadon. It is significant that in modern usage the phrase *tung ch'ing* (written as "east green") is used to describe the green celadon glaze.]

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But incense-burners in the *I* shape may be counted by the hundred. These four types are those most highly prized by connoisseurs.

It is impossible to foretell to what point the loss of these ancient wares will continue. For that reason I never see a specimen but that my heart dilates and my eye flashes, while my soul seems suddenly to gain wings and I need no earthly food, reaching a state of exaltation such as one could scarcely expect a mere hobby to produce. My great grief is the thought that those who come after me will hear the names of these wares, but never see the wares that bore these names.

DESCRIPTION OF TING POTTERY

Master Kao said :

Ting Yao is the ware made at the northern Ting-chou during the Sung dynasty. It is white ; but brown and black varieties also exist. The paste is always white, with glaze added. The best sort has marks on it like tear-stains. In this connexion Su Ch'ang-kung (Su Tung-p'o, 1036-1101 A.D.) says in his poem :

*In patterned porcelain of Ting-chou and (cups of) carven red jade.*¹

It is decorated with designs which are either incised (*hua*), painted in colours (*hsiu*),² or stamped (*yin*, "a seal"). The designs most often used are the peony, the *hsüan-ts'ao* (lily) and the flying phoenix. Great skill and ingenuity is displayed in selecting the forms of the vessels which are produced. Among the best shapes are . . .³

Among the Korean ware one finds good specimens of the cups *chan* and *ou* with painted designs. The shape of the vessels is often quite tolerable, but the paste is thin and brittle, and of a *clair de lune* colour which is very displeasing.

Modern New Style wares, such as the incense-burners in the shape of Wên Wang (rectangular) cauldron or in the shape of an *I* (sacrificial vessel) with animal face and halberd-ears, do not fall short of the Ting types and may be used promiscuously

¹ The text of the big *T'u Shu* omits the word "red" (*hung*) and substitutes the word *ju*, "like." The text used by Bushell (presumably the small *T'u Shu*) corrects this.

The line might, however, be understood to mean "in porcelain . . . (like) carven red jade"; for red Ting ware was not unknown, e.g. a story in the *Ch'ing-po Tsa Chih* of Chou Hün (c. 1170 A.D.) of how an old man over eighty showed him some fragments of vessels which, during the period 1107-1111, owing to an accident in the firing, had come out of the kiln at Yao-chou bright cinnabar-red in colour. "The old man observed that they looked exactly like the red (*hung*) porcelain of Ting-chou." This seems to prove that *hung Ting* is not so apocryphal as has been suggested. A translation of Su Tung-p'o's poem will be found in an Appendix.

² [As the primary meaning of the character *hsiu* is "to paint in many colours," and the meaning "to embroider" is secondary, the only known Sung ware to which the word would naturally apply is such a piece as Mr. Raphael's bowl (*Art of the Chinese Potter*, Plate 92), which is painted with flowers in green, red and yellow enamels. This piece belongs to a group of ware which has more affinities with the Tz'u Chou ware than the Ting Chou porcelain. The two places are, however, no very great distance apart, and it is quite possible that their productions have been confused.]

³ The list which follows contains many items already familiar to readers of Bushell's *T'ao Shuo*, Vol. V. It is too long to translate here.

THE TSUNG SHENG PA CHIEN, A.D. 1591

along with genuine antiques. (Cf. *Po Wu Yao Lan*, quoted in *T'ao Shuo*, II). Such ware as Chou Tan-ch'üan's early pieces are fine, but cannot be really enjoyed till the new gloss of the fire has worn off; while the jade-epidendrum pattern cups, although clever, are already on the Evil Path and the Wheel of Fate will rapidly conduct them to damnation.

The productions of Chou Tan-ch'üan's successors, such as the "joined" (*ho*) incense-burner, the tub-shaped incense-burner, and the vessels decorated with the design of chain-mail, ball, gate, brocade, and tortoise all threaded together so as to form a patterned background, are very ingenious, but have no merit as art; moreover the material differs very widely from that used by Tan-ch'üan.

APPENDIX

MAKING TEA IN THE EXAMINATION HALL

BY SU TUNG-P'Ö. 1072 A.D.

(*Collected Poems*, VIII, fol. 3.)

The "crab's eyes" have passed away and the "fishes' eyes" begin;¹
Sou, sou, it begins to make a pine-tree wind song.
Scitter, scatter down from the grinding² fine pearls fall;
In blinding dance round the pot flying snow whirls.
To pour the water into a silver urn and praise this second step
Is to ignore the water-boiling theories of the men of old.
For see you not
That long ago Master Li,³ who loved his guests, boiled the water with his own hand;
His pride was that a living flame met water fresh from the spring.
And see you not
That in these days the Duke of Lu⁴ boils his tea like the people of Western Shu;
Drinks in patterned porcelain of Ting-chou or carven red jade.
But I to-day am poor and ill and often very hungry,
Nor have I cups of carven jade for ladies with moth-brows.
But awhile I will learn from the high and great;
I too will drink my tea;
With brick stove and stoneware cup I will boldly join the throng.
No more will I use the letters of these five thousand books
To prop my belly and guts;⁵
All I ask is one cup, and to sleep if I choose though the sun be high in the sky.

¹ These expressions describe stages in the appearance of boiling water.

² Tu T'ang and early Sung cake tea was used.

³ Li Yo, 9th century, a member of the T'ang Imperial family, famous as a painter of plum-blossom. His skill as a tea-maker is recorded in the *Yin Hua Lu*, a work by his contemporary Chao Lin.

⁴ A grandee of the poet's own day.

⁵ Make my living by scholarship.

THE NORTHERN STREAM OF ART FROM IRELAND TO CHINA, AND THE SOUTHERN MOVEMENT

By JOSEPH STRZYGOWSKI

In "Hiberno-Saxon Art in the Time of Bede," which forms the last chapter of my book, *Origin of Christian Church Art*, I have tried to view Irish-Anglo-Saxon art in detachment from Southern and, more particularly, from Roman influence, treating it much in the same way as I have treated the art of the East for years past in various of my writings. My impression is that here too the Roman movement, which set in with Augustine and Theodore of Tarsus, was preceded by another, of more vigorous and native growth than that which introduced the three-aisled basilica into the British Isles and swept them ever more and more into the main stream of Western European "styles." In the present essay I propose to examine a movement, which leads one to regard the North of both Europe and Asia as a single compact unit, and reveals connexions which have received scant notice hitherto in histories of art.

Reference may be made to an essay on Asiatic art which I have just published as the introductory chapter of the new *Jahrbuch für asiatische Kunst*. In that essay I have tried to show that hitherto we have been quite mistaken in regarding Asia as a Southern instead of a Northern region, which it undoubtedly is, if judged by its mainland mass in contradistinction to its Southern peninsulas. This applies with almost equal force to Europe also. So strongly are we prejudiced in favour of that succession of culture which humanists for centuries past have been dinning into our ears, viz. Egypt, Mesopotamia, Greece, Rome, Western Europe—that even at the present day it is still possible for official publications to appear in sumptuous editions such as the *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen* of the "Deutsches Verein für Kunstwissenschaft" in 1916, or the *Kunstwerke des frühen Mittelalters* of the Austrian Archaeological Institute in 1923. The authors of these works write as though it were impossible to conceive of any development of art taking place independently of ancient Greece and Rome. Once again we are reminded of Wickhoff's thesis, enviable in its simplicity, on the unity of art's evolution on a Greek basis: a thesis supposed to be demonstrated with peculiar clearness by the assumption that the "eye" ornament, meanders, etc., of Greek vases were a necessary preliminary to the ornamentation of the sacred bronze vessels of ancient China. How can so mistaken a notion ever have originated?

Hitherto histories of art have recognized in the Northern regions only the reflections of two world religions, in Europe Christianity, in China Buddhism, both of which started out from the South to arrive, one in Ireland, and the other in China, at about the same period, viz. the earlier half of the first millennium. They were preceded by earlier streams of influence from the South, the Græco-Roman reaching the confines of Ireland and the Hellenistic-Mesopotamian those of China. Gradually the individuality of the North was undermined by all these foreign

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currents ; so much is certain. But the fact that the original character of the North is no longer perceptible as a distinct entity has been a real curse to research. The purpose of this essay is to call to mind the original homogeneity which embraced the whole area from Ireland to the East of Asia, and to confront the Southern aspect of art (too exclusively regarded till now) with the Northern aspect, which in my opinion is destined to play a decisive part in art histories of the future.

In the ensuing pages I shall not be concerned to introduce to the reader the whole series of monuments that has gradually been revealed in great abundance, nor to arrive at a definite and final judgment. I shall merely endeavour to express ideas which have doubtless occurred to others who have had the opportunity of seeing Hiberno-Saxon and Chinese works of art side by side.

(I) MONUMENTS AND SOURCES

What is the state of our knowledge of the Eurasiatic continent *per se*, and especially with regard to its two extremities West and East, Ireland and China (with Corea and Japan) ? Have the monuments of the whole of this gigantic Northern territory been sufficiently examined and published to enable us to speak of them as something known, at least in so far as the formative arts of the first millennia before and after Christ are concerned ? In Ireland pure Northern art dominates the field until 600 A.D., in China until about 600 B.C. It is only at these two periods respectively that, in the one case, the influence of the Roman Church coming from England begins to affect the development of Irish art, and, in the other, that of the religious founders—themselves a Southern manifestation—to affect the art of China.

Until quite recently the only writers who have dealt at all synoptically with this huge area have been prehistorians or ethnologists. I have already given some account of the one-sided nature of recent research in an essay entitled "*Das Erwachen der Nordforschung in der Bildenden Kunst*" (*Acta Academiæ Aboensis Humaniora*, IV) and have no wish to return to the subject here. Some obstacle there must be which hinders an artistic synopsis of Eurasia. Something with which we historians of art are accustomed to work is missing here. To be precise, there are two negative factors with which all research into Northern art, whether in Europe or Asia, has to reckon : first, these areas did not depict the human figure : second, they did not make use of stone or brick, as in the South, to such an extent that we can gain any knowledge of their sculptural or architectural activities from surviving remains. The material employed in the North had no permanence, and could not resist the destructive agencies of a thousand years and more. We cannot, like the prehistorians, reconstruct the artistic history of the North from chance survivals in stone, bronze, or iron, but have to reckon with the fact that the prevailing raw material was wood, and that its disappearance has produced a gap which can only be ignored at the price of serious distortion in a history of art.

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A. THE IRISH GROUP

In describing the surviving monuments of Ireland allowance must therefore be made for the fact that I am unable to point to a single example of the principal type of construction, which was of wood. In the phrase "to build *more scotico*," which we find handed down into Christian times, lies the great gap of which I am speaking. And what is true for Ireland and Britain, including Scotland, is even more patently demonstrable for the rest of Northern Europe.

To-day I can point to the discovery of ships in Norway, particularly the Oseberg ship, as proof that in Scandinavia there flourished an art in wood, which was continued in Christian times in the wooden churches of square plan with one, four, or twelve masts, before the introduction of the long church or basilica. Furthermore I can point to the existence at this day, from Finland to the Carpathians, of wooden churches constructed of logs in a style which as early as Indo-Germanic times led up to the best known types of stone construction, namely, the Greek temple and the "Byzantine" dome (cf. my book on Armenia). Finally I may refer to my attempt to establish the existence among the Western Slavs of a preRomanesque type of church of circular or square plan, the latter probably founded upon log construction. All these indications ought by degrees to open our eyes to the history of art in the North, and to the great gap caused by the disappearance of wood, which was the chief material employed. To be sure, among the monuments of preRomanesque times surviving in Ireland, I can point to stone buildings and examples of the minor arts of all kinds, but not to a single extant wooden structure or trace thereof. And yet, if any progress is to be made, we shall have to attempt to fill in this enormous gap in Ireland also. A careful perusal of my essay on preRomanesque church construction of the Western Slavs, published in the journal *Slavia* for 1924, will show how a new line of research of this kind may be inaugurated.

B. THE CHINESE GROUP

In the case of Europe, the complete displacement of the original Northern art by the art of the South obliges us to proceed laboriously by the method of retrospective inference to the assumption of a gap in the surviving monuments; in China the facts are clearer, because the ancient Northern manner of building in wood survives to the present day, and representational art has there never quite effectuated that inartistic tendency to realism which is inherent in all Southern art. We know for certain that the Chinese always built in wood, as at the present day, and that the human figure was originally unknown to them, if indeed the sacred bronze vessels really represent the oldest type of Chinese art, before the teaching of the religious founders in about 600 B.C. led to a steadily increasing insistence on representation. It was only then that Buddhism in the Far East, like Christianity in the West, inaugurated the triumph of the representational over the earlier non-representational style, which was transmitted to Islam at a later date by the Northern Iranians.

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The part played by Iran in this connexion has been dealt with by me in two books, *Altai-Iran und Völkerwanderung* and *Origin of Christian Church Art*; I have there tried to show how its markedly Northern character, as distinguished from that of all Southern art, found full expression in Mazdēism.

There are two categories of pre-Buddhist remains which have been found to exist in China in fairly wide distribution. These are, firstly, funerary monuments in stone and, secondly, vessels of bronze. In the funerary monuments, even at this early date, the paramount influence of Southern art is revealed by the fact that the surfaces are no longer covered with geometric ornament, but with representational scenes. From the gates and houses depicted in these reliefs it is possible to form an idea of the appearance of the wooden buildings of this early period, data of which are not available for Northern Europe. From this evidence it appears that the same types of construction prevailed in China then as to-day, viz. open halls supported by posts and with roofs, but in several tiers, first without the characteristic curve, with pillars in front leading to the temple enclosure, and finally the door itself under the broad side of the roof. But apart from this evidence, the earliest wooden buildings actually surviving in China are probably even later than those in Europe. There, too, the earliest period is represented only by the minor arts, particularly bronze, and it is in vain that we ask how far these may have been influenced by woodwork.

C. THE NORTHERN TERRITORIES BETWEEN IRELAND AND CHINA

The area to be considered under this heading falls into two groups, the European and the Asiatic, the frontiers of which are by no means so easily determined as by the Urals to-day. In the centuries round about the beginning of the Christian era Asia pushes forward into Europe as energetically as Northern Europe had pushed into Asia at the time of the Indo-Germanic migrations. By the side of these two movements, which produced reactions from the South and East, there must always have been a purely Northern movement as well. It is becoming evident that Northern art presents a more varied picture than the South, which has hitherto monopolized the attention of art historians.

On the European side we have the Celts, Germans, and Slavs, together with all those races which burst out of Asia and penetrated to the West of Europe in the first millennium, namely, the Huns, Avars, Magyars and, later, the Mongols. These peoples, all of them nomads of the North, were the bearers of Asiatic ideas of art to Europe in historic times; but they must have been preceded by similar movements long before the Christian era during the Bronze Age and the La Tène period.

The accompanying illustrations will show what is common to the two groups. On the Irish side, I have reproduced the Nigg Stone (8th century) and folio 210 verso of the *Lindisfarne Gospel*. The same tendencies (absence of human figure and desire to fill in the whole surface with decoration) may be seen on Plate 52, Figure c; or indeed by reference to any illustrated work on Chou bronzes.

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A comparison of the two groups will show that Hiberno-Saxon ornament has marked affinities with the ornament of Chinese sacred bronzes; and these affinities assuredly demand closer inspection and explanation.

(II) ESSENTIAL CHARACTER

The essential character of both Irish and Chinese art and their peculiar relationship only become intelligible when we regard both areas as terminal points of the great field of Northern art, which builds in wood and decorates with geometric patterns, avoiding representation. What this means I shall discuss more narrowly in this section, inquiring first into handicraft, which is the dominant feature of the North, and only at a later stage considering those abstract values of art which are a distinguishing feature of the South.

I must plead to be excused if my subject matter fails to reflect actual conditions in true perspective, and ornament appears to occupy a more prominent place in my account than architecture. The reason for this lies, as I have already pointed out, in the complete disappearance of those wooden buildings, in which the essential character of Northern art may be supposed to have attained full development, even if not to the same degree, in all parts of Eurasia.

1. HANDICRAFT.

All research into the beginnings of Northern art must start with a consideration of raw material, technique, and purpose. Northern art wins its way through in the struggle with the needs of daily life. It introduces the element of joy into the making of the home, of clothing and other objects which are absolutely essential to life in the winter. This definite purpose gives unity to the character of all Northern art from the very first.

Both in Ireland and China the raw material which, through its preservation, gives us the best, if not the only, insight into the subject at present is bronze. That this is so can hardly be due to mere chance; indeed it was only after the appearance of metal that the North of Asia and of Europe entered into such active communication that traces of the interchange of artistic ideas can be observed throughout the whole of the Northern region lying between Ireland and China. This state of affairs continued until the introduction of manuscripts, but appears to cease entirely in the North about the year 1000 A.D.

2. SUBJECT.

The most important point of connexion between Irish and Chinese art is that originally they were both wholly devoid of subjects; they did not represent anything. The object of art was, in both cases, to decorate, or at most, on the Asiatic side, to lend significance to ornament by symbols. Admittedly, the purpose of the bronzes preserved in Europe and Asia, in Ireland and China, differs; on the western side of Eurasia their function was purely ornamental; on the eastern it tended from the very first to be ritual. Such Chinese hieratic vessels as have been

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preserved approximate in purpose to the curious zoomorphic metalwork of Northern Asia ; and these too may well have had a deeper significance in their subjects than that of pure outward ornament.

3. SHAPE.

It is significant that both these centres of art originally ignore, or indeed reject, the human figure. Their temperament finds satisfaction in geometric figures, which reveal, first on the Asiatic side, a *markedly zoomorphic element*. It has gradually become clear beyond question that this animal ornament is derived ultimately from the Iranian region, whence it advances on the one side to China, and on the other, by way of Northern Europe, to Ireland. The peculiar affinity between Chinese and Teutonic ornamental designs has long been a subject for comment. Hoerschelmann was the first to try to explain the evolution of ancient Chinese ornament in 1907, and Muth followed in 1910 with an attempt to throw light on Chinese and Teutonic elements of style. Both of these studies appeared in Lamprecht's *Beiträge zur Kultur- und Universalgeschichte*. I may assume that they are known to the reader. The designs employed by the Irish and Chinese groups resemble each other more closely than the Teutonic, in so far as they both make use of the spiral in exceptional profusion.

4. FORM.

Mass *per se* is originally unknown in Northern ornament from Ireland to China. Surfaces are filled with lines and dots, generally arranged in bands, and distinguished by cross-hatching, or by emphasizing the relation between pattern and background. Above all, there is absolutely no attempt to indicate space, so that light and shade merely serve to accentuate the lines, especially the diagonals, but have no special bearings. I have dealt with this subject fully in my book, *Altai-Iran und Völkerwanderung*.

5. CONTENT.

The spiritual keynote of all the art which is found diffused in broad currents throughout the peoples of Northern Europe and Siberia from the Atlantic to the Pacific is delight in ornament. Here are no strivings for world empires, demanding representational scenes for their glorification. Art remains true to its character, a purpose in itself, and is not degraded to the rank of a mere instrument. Moreover, it is noteworthy that Ireland, on the European side, and China, on the Asiatic, became respectively the bearers of that Aryan spirit, which in the South was directed to the contemplation of the human figure.

Ireland becomes the bearer of Greek language, which it carries to the Continent in the time of Charlemagne ; while China transmits the art of India and finally distributes it with Buddhism throughout the length and breadth of Asia. A remarkable circumstance is that Ireland and Northern Europe resisted the introduction of the human figure much longer than did China.

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immigrants to South and North, both on the Continent and in the British Isles, falls into the intermediate period. May there not be a single common source for both these artistic currents, similar to the one I have tried to point out for landscape paintings in my lecture¹ entitled "Perso-Indian Landscape in Northern Art"?

Certain kinds of figures there are which occur in both these centres of art; but whereas in the one case they are typical and fundamental, in the other they only emerge as isolated instances; if, therefore, they do not occur at any other point intermediate between Ireland and China, one would be almost inclined to assume that there had been direct influence between the two extreme points of Eurasia. There are cases in point in the *Lindisfarne Gospels*; e.g. the filling of the four corners between the arms of the cross in the richly illuminated page, folio 210 v. In the projections at the angles appears the typical Chinese hooked meander. On the Nigg-stone similar things may be observed. Were such forms of ornament created independently in each case through the practice of calligraphy, or in some other way? Or was it transmitted either directly or indirectly from one to the other? Questions of this nature confront us at every turn in studying the close kinship between Irish and ancient Chinese ornament. The appearance of the bell in both cultures is another question which demands an answer. Other instances are mentioned in the last chapter of my book entitled *Origin of Christian Church Art*. My experience convinces me that it was certain intermediate regions which transmitted their forms of ornament in a Westerly direction as far as Ireland, and in an Easterly direction as far as China.

(IV) THE BEHOLDER

In the introduction I raised the question how the erroneous view of Wickhoff and others—a view which still holds the field to-day—could ever have arisen, that China received her art from Greece. The reason is that no one thought of the creative individuality of the North, and even now there are many who do not believe in it. Instead of regarding the North of Eurasia as the intermediate link between the Greeks who wandered South and the other people who wandered East, they produce the most preposterous theories in order to explain a patent relationship. Quite recently S. Reinach, with reference to Madison Grant's book, *The Passing of the Great Race or The Racial Basis of European History* (New York, 1916), rejected the predominance of the North as a foolish revival of the teachings of Gobineau, Laponge, Ammon and others, and gave his approval to the "milieu" theory of Taine and Spencer. The various scientific specialists should find methods of overcoming this endless uncertainty of theory. In one of my books, *Die Krisis der Geisteswissenschaften* (1923), I have tried to discover a firmer foundation for research into formative art by separating it into divisions and proposing various different methods. I distinguished between subjective and objective research, and

¹ First Rolleston memorial lecture, India Society, London, 1922, published in "The Influences of Indian Art." The India Society, 1925.

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within each of these divisions I differentiated between research into monuments (sources), character and development—the same headings, in fact, under which the present essay has been arranged. The essential traits of the Northern art-character are wood buildings and non-representational decoration.

But all these decorative motives, transmitted from Asia to Western Europe where they underwent radical transformation either through a change in Northern taste itself or through the infiltration from the South of certain forms of art such as MS. illumination—all these motives could not withstand the victorious march of the despotic powers. Europe, in particular, which through its immanent forces had originally occupied as distinctive a position in the sphere of Northern art as China, has lost it so completely that to-day the decisive connexions have to be sought for from beneath a later stratum of art, humanistic in spirit, which has become its leading characteristic. On the European part of all these endless questions I gave four lectures, in October, 1924, at the University of London: "Early North European Church Art and Wood Architecture."

THREE MOSUL BRONZES AT LENINGRAD

By ERNST KUHNEL

In the museum of Baron Stieglitz there are a number of Islamic bronzes, silver inlaid; one of which, a 12th-century ewer of embossed work, was illustrated by M. Migeon in his *Manuel d'art musulman*. I want to call attention to several objects which belong to the narrow circle of so-called "Mosul bronzes" and illustrate admirably the various techniques in use in this the most brilliant of Musulman handicrafts.

The most important of the vessels illustrated here is undoubtedly a ewer (Plate 55) which has the typical shape of this inlay work: a slender, rounded body, neck which widens towards the top, straight spout, and curved handle with knob; the lid is missing. The ornamentation, consisting of small silver plates engraved and hammered, is divided horizontally, and covers the entire surface. The principal *motif*, recurring twice on the body and once on the neck, consists of a meandering geometric pattern, in which large medallions containing figures are imbedded, joined together by panels of decorative writing and small rosettes. Narrower borders represent tiers of animals racing after one another, arabesques, bars, and interlaced ribbon-work. The delicate draughtsmanship is no longer wholly recognizable, so many of the little silver plates by which it was carried out having been lost. Both in form and decorative details this ewer bears a close resemblance to one in the Musée des Arts décoratifs in Paris, and especially to the famous specimen from the collection of the Duc de Blacas, now in the British Museum, with inscription by the artist, giving the year and place of its production—Mosul, 1232 A.D. The ground-decor, with its T-shaped ornaments closely packed together, is characteristic of this and of all the objects that we know to have been made in Mosul; we may therefore assume that the Leningrad can also belong to the so-called Mesopotamian centre, though several decades later. For on all the other examples of this kind which we can date with certainty there is more variety in the treatment of the figures; while here only two single alternating figures are represented—a hunter on horseback and a sitting figure with a drinking vessel—and the same stereotyped pair of birds recurs in all the small medallions. But the stylistic resemblance is too great for us to attribute it to one of the other centres of metal-inlay which, though dependent on Mosul, had an unmistakable individuality.

Our second reproduction (Plate 56) is certainly of still later date, probably about 1300. The division of the surface is the same; the T pattern, the little bird-medallions and other details are almost identical. But the figure-*motif* is still further impoverished and confined to a continually recurring personification of the moon. I have not been able to compare this interesting kettle with the well-known one in the Mutiaux Collection (incomplete but rather earlier) so I cannot say whether the two cartouches of dedicatory writing are anonymous or contain perhaps the name of some historical personage. A Persian origin used to be assigned to this somewhat later Mosul work, but we possess no authentic inscription which would justify such a conclusion, and in the absence of reliable data it is certainly safer to emphasize its relationship with the Mosul school.

THREE MOSUL BRONZES AT LENINGRAD

The box and cover (Plate 57, Figs. A and B) shows quite a different tendency. A general blessing written in unusually large *Naskhi* is broken only by two round medallions with seated flute-players; round the edge of the lid runs a border of Kufic writing, stunted and intertwined, and on the top a frieze of running animals encircles a coiled-up arabesque with lion masks. In this, the connexion with Mosul is scarcely more than technical; and that need not disturb us, since we know that during the second half of the 13th century a number of inlay artists migrated to Bagdad, Damascus, Cairo, and other places, and were thus responsible for the spread of the method in all directions. The nearest approach to our box is a candlestick in the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum at Berlin, which shows the same seated musicians and tall writing; the same intertwined kufi and border of running animals. A ewer in the Louvre, which was originally in the Delort de Gléon Collection, also reminds us of the Leningrad piece; but in this case the figures are replaced by arabesques. An inscription states that it was the work of a Mosul artist in Damascus in 1260; so we may ascribe a similar origin to our box, undoubtedly somewhat later, but certainly before the end of the century. On a fairly large candlestick which formerly belonged to Dr. F. R. Martin, and was sent from Sweden by Herr Lamm to the Munich Exhibition of 1910, the arrangement is similar, but the strokes of the letters are developed above into human heads; while the treatment of the figures also shows several variations. On the other hand, the famous Barberini vase in the Louvre, made for Sultan Muzaffer Yusuf of Aleppo (1250-1260), shows a far closer relation to Mosul; indeed, in the treatment of the arabesques, so strong is its likeness to the enamelled and gilded glass jars for which Aleppo was then famous, that we shall probably be right in regarding that town as its birthplace.

This silver inlay on brass was undoubtedly practised in other cities of Mesopotamia and Syria besides Mosul, Bagdad, Aleppo, and Damascus; for the amount and variety of the work which has been preserved of the 13th and 14th centuries is so large as only to be explained by the rapid spread of this technique and the development of local characteristics. Of course, other countries come in question too, and above all the possibility that Asia Minor, which, under the Seljuks of Konia, had a period of remarkable artistic activity, may also have been pre-eminent in this department. During the 11th and 12th centuries, before Mosul took the lead, inlay work was already somewhat developed in Persia (at Herat especially), and it is more than probable that it continued to be practised there; at present, however, we are not in a position to distinguish a Persian group among the objects ornamented in the Mosul style and to which hitherto a definite locality could not be assigned.

Besides the objects illustrated here there are two more ewers in the Stieglitz Museum which may both go back to about 1300; their form is precisely similar to Plate 55, but their ornamentation shows them to belong to other groups which hitherto no single example has helped us to define.

SMALL CHINESE CARVINGS IN STEATITE

BY KARL WITH

Steatite figures have until now found no place in art history—they are treated either with absolute condemnation or polite silence. This is not altogether to be wondered at, for only the great mass of less important 19th-century work is at all well known. But it is clear that even with these we can point to an older tradition which reaches to the beginning of the Ming period. Certainly earlier and consequently better examples of this work seem to be very rare. In European museums, too, (a rich collection went to the Gothaer Museum in the year 1705) we do not find many really good pieces. The most important collections appear to be in Holland, which, in consequence of the relations of the East India Company with Eastern Asia, had already in the 17th and 18th centuries obtained possession of a relatively large number. We have to thank Herr A. Vecht, of Amsterdam, for having recently brought some of them together in a private collection.

If we can claim that these earlier pieces date from the centuries between the beginning of the Ming period and the Kang-hi period, this is not saying much in praise of many of them. It is universally held that even in the Ming dynasty the decadence of plastic art was only partial. But such a judgment can only be upheld in so far as it refers to the development of the earlier Buddhist religions and large figure sculpture. This did in fact die out in the Ming period in stiff academic or rustic baroque work. But it is important for an appreciation of steatite carvings to realize that, compared with Buddhist sculpture, they have a character of their own, and belong to a special and completely different department of artistic conceptions—different in aim, material, environment, spirit, subject, and form.

To begin with, the environment, the most general condition, is completely different. Unlike the earlier art, it belongs not to the cloister and the temple, not even to the exclusive life of the court and the aristocracy, but to private houses. The patrons of this late art form are the middle class of the towns, with a strong admixture of the peasant class. The environment of this more popular phase of civilization is the agricultural life of the 12th century, which put an end to the yawning social differences and assured to the peasants a more peaceful possibility of life, even if boundary wars, heavy taxes, and bad government must always have impaired this new freedom. The period of great social confusion and poverty is, on the whole, past. But it was precisely this which had supplied a fostering soil, on the one hand, for religious movements and streams of transcendently directed thought, and on the other side for the complete display of a courtly civilization or the aristocratic deepening and ennobling of individual ways of life. But opposed to this was the whole life of later times with its levelling adjustments. It is now the middle classes who fix the ideal of civilization which is carried far and wide into the masses of the people.

As far as the art of the middle classes is concerned two contributing facts are of importance. This middle-class art is a reservoir into which flows every imaginable constituent of the older religious and aristocratic civilization. On the other hand, hidden elements come up into the light of history, and have plenty of room to

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develop—elements which until then had remained in the lower depths of the people, neglected or only latent. It is just these popular elements which represent a primitive ancient Chinese tradition. So that two streams meet here and mix together: the one an outlet of ideas already put into shape and even in part already worn out, and the other with a wealth of original and, so to say, embryonic elements. From this again comes the strongly syncretic character of the formal and the representative styles, which is peculiar to this art. The uniting factor lies in the adjustment which takes place, and in its suitability to the essence of middle-class life.

The consolidation of the feeling of the middle and lower classes for culture takes effect in all departments, and is noticeable in religious and artistic as well as in literary developments. In literature, for instance, the forms of the drama, the novel, and the short story come to the front; imagination crystallizes more in fairy tales, fables, and legends than in actual myths. Religious forms and ideas take on strongly personal and increasingly human and secular features, with a pronounced eudemonic characteristic and a leaning towards magic. In art, decorative tendencies increase, like those factors of narrative, illustration, and a many-coloured, realistic kind of description, which lie outside pure form. Subjects in origin religious are exhibited, or, so to say, embodied, in decoration. On the other hand, forms whose meaning had already become empty and decorative are once more filled out and freshened up into symbols full of meaning, so that the original symbol often becomes an idol. All artistic and religious movements tend to become more closely bound up with human needs and to merge into men's everyday life. Thus the whole of spiritual life becomes popularized. The art of this later time already lay on the outer edge of artistic creation, depending on the inheritance of the past—more interpretative than creative—and in form, as well as in what was depicted, syncretic. By means of the active part taken by the people in the renewal of this late art it received a peculiar freshness and vitality. Precisely this art of steatite figures is a testimony to the fact that the last efflorescence of figure work in China stands in relation to this popular tendency. It is an art which lies between an older religious and court culture and an ethnographic and submerged culture of the people. It is opposed as much to the sacramental art of the Buddhist cloister as it is different from the contemporary art of a numb, effete literature, or a luxurious superficial court, or from the life of the chaotic confused masses of the country people. Yet it had taken from all and belonged to all. It is a middle-class art, and as such more nationally Chinese than any other Chinese art since the Han period. And just as, behind the art of the previous centuries, we can distinguish various types of statesmen, aristocrats, monks, and men of letters, so in this art we find the middle class and behind them the great prolific masses of the Chinese people.

It must also be said of carving in steatite that, belonging to middle-class culture, it has an æsthetic function to fulfil. These figures belong to the interior decoration of private houses and are attuned to the intimacy of dwelling places, endowed with rich, picturesque, decorative charm, and all the ingredients of a sensuous beauty or realistic character painting. But they are not mere *bijouterie*. They do not exhaust

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themselves in this æsthetic function, but at the same time obey a religious and symbolic function, and remain incorporated in and subordinate to a department of religious thought and representation. This applies especially to steatite sculpture—in any case more than to contemporary painting and applied art. For plastic form is always the principal medium of religious expression.

Our figures, then, serve not only for ornament but also as the material and data for the religious life of the middle classes. As representations of the household gods and protecting spirits they belong to family religion and stand in the little household altars near the shrine of the ancestors. They are used directly as the deputies and pledges of the latter, which they represent symbolically, and as such are used for presents—as tributes of honour or tokens of remembrance. They are in general intimately bound up with the family life and well-being. The ideas, however, which we come across here really stand for something else. For in China the whole middle-class life is bound up with religious practices, and in saying this we will not enter into the question of what we mean by religious. The religious picture we get is of a variegated, almost unsystematic system of performances, sacrifices, rites, festivals, and magic—a common property, syncretic, variegated, but excessively enduring, coming from ancient times or new local customs. We clearly have here the middle-class character again; the germ, so to say, is the house altar, and the starting point of all religious relationships is less a heavenly being than the middle-class man and his surroundings, with his cares, wishes, and ideals. The life of the individual—birth, marriage, death—the family and town community, the house, the field, the town, and the street—all these are factors from which religious practices radiate, and round which the religious attitude crystallizes. Thus the course of the year finds its religious expression in a series of festivals and rites, not unlike the Church year of the uneducated Catholic. The general character of this religiosity is really eudemonic—determined by the ideal of life of the middle-class Chinese, *san fu*: long life, many children, good position, peace, a happy old age, and death and so on. Around these good things of life, whose attainment he thinks dependent on the wish of higher powers, circle all the ritual and symbolism. The important branch of art, steatite carving, lies almost exclusively in this plane.

The constituent parts of this middle-class and popular religion are immensely varied and in part primeval, but can be reduced to a few essentials. These are, first, the cult of the dead and ancestor worship from which develops the cult of certain heroes; secondly, the worship of nature, rooted in the old conception of the dual order of the universe, and connected with a belief in spirits and demons. As a corollary to the belief in demons and to the doctrine of dependence on them is the widely ramifying worship of tutelar deities, protectors, and divine beings and genii—redeemers degraded into helpers. Protection, help, and dependence, earthly happiness and immortality—these are the chief subjects around which parts of other religious systems, philosophy, mysticism, and magic, group themselves.

Only a restricted part of these religious motives and conceptions have been expressed in an artistic formula and symbolization. Unlike what we find in the art of

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the Han period, the importance of the cult of the dead diminishes very much. Nature worship, too, has little importance in middle-class art. On the other hand, hero worship and belief in spirits has become of the greatest importance, and is rooted in the Taoist conception of the world as well as in the Buddhist doctrine of the transmigration of souls. These ideas lent themselves most easily to a personal and humanized materialization, which passes into a sculptured or painted permanence. The close connexion in which the tutelary spirits were supposed to stand to men already afforded a strong humanizing of individual types, a process which received a great impulse from the Buddhist figure of Bodhisattva.

As far as concerns the subjects of steatite sculpture, subjects from Confucianism and Buddhism are both rare, decidedly rarer than those belonging to Taoism. This is the case with Confucianism because as the official state cult it was definitely separated from private worship, and with Buddhism because we are here dealing with an originally sacramental and monastic institution. But with the worship of Confucius, as early as the 2nd century B.C. the real hero worship and the deification of historical persons took place, so that we sometimes find portraits of Confucius among the steatite figures—as the patron of literature, it is true. But the remaining types of Confucius are only such as were approved of by Confucianism; they belong by feeling to Taoism and deserve further attention only in that connexion. As far as Buddhism is concerned it is easy to see which of its types and figures have found a place in the middle-class art of steatite sculpture and with what modifications. Representations which embody the idea of the transcendental Buddha are practically wanting. The place for such representations is the temple. If representations of Buddha are found they chiefly deal with the historical çakyamuni or show Siddhârta as an ascetic. Of the Bodhisattvas, it is Ti-tsang and the emasculated Kuan Yin who have won a large place in middle-class art. But they are not shown as pure symbols of Buddha, as depicting divine beings and ideal occurrences of a religion of redemption, but as creatures like men, strong in action, as protectors and helping beings in the possession of supernatural and magic strength. Bodhisattva Ti-tsang appears in his human form as a priest with the wishing-jewel Mani; Kuan Yin blended with the person of the legendary king's daughter, Miao Shen, but as the ideal Beautiful Woman, elegant, tender, and graceful, or as Sung tse Kuan Yin, as the essence of motherly compassion, protecting and bestowing children. But in both figures the source is still recognizable as from a transcendental religion of redemption, in so far as they are not shown merely as earthly helpers but also helpers after death, as guides and saviours of the soul, and are connected with an imaginative picture of the life beyond. And indeed, in general, Buddhism, through its conception of Heaven and Hell, its doctrine of rewards and punishments, and the institution of masses for the dead, by which it was attached to the old ancestor worship, was able to win a wide influence on the masses of the Chinese people.

Besides the figure of Kuan Yin the figures of Arhats also attained great popularity. There is here a close connexion of idea with the Taoist *hsien*:

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they are men who, possessed of supernatural strength, succeeded in crossing the boundary of bodily death, and appear to the people in the light of great magicians and wonder workers. Ethical ideas as well may take their part: discipline, strength of will, and the spiritual greatness of a hermit's life. The character of the apostle, the great devotee and penitent, in a word the character of the saint faded into the background. Hence many of the old Arhat types acquire a new and changed meaning; they become overgrown with legends and supplied with new aspects. As an example we will take the Arhat, Pan-Shö-Chia, who entices the dragon with the pearl; a representation which simply stands for rain and fertility magic. Very often we find the figure of a priest (Ho shang), together with the older series of the sixteen Arhats, an emblem of calm, gay life, earthly peace, and freedom from care, blended at the same time with the Messiah-like figure of Maitreya. Then we have the pair Han-shan and Shih-te, showing the popular appreciation of simplicity and spiritual poverty. The figure of Ta mo, founder of the Zen sect, the worthy but grim patriarch who crossed the Yangtze on a reed, is also of frequent occurrence.

But the greatest number of subjects, symbols, and emblems is furnished by Taoism, which has been enlarged so as to be a popular syncretic religion. It is noticeable here as well as with the Buddhist subjects that Taoist subjects of a more elevated order and a more abstract treatment are almost completely absent. Such ideas are certainly too big for the small form of this art which belongs to inferiors and private life. On the other hand, most of the base and vulgar ideas which lie in the realm of demons or belong to the more local nature worship are also absent. Nor is this surprising, for these ideas are still too fluid, too embryonic, or too realistic to be represented in sculpture. The equivalent of such ideas is not the plastic but the literary form, such as fairy tales and legends. On the other hand, the whole environment of such ideas lies below the middle-class stratum to which our figures belong, and is an environment whose spiritual powers are not capable of altering and formulating a religious or even an artistic or æsthetic subject. Here the boundary becomes evident which separates middle-class art from real folk-lore.

I know only one figure of a higher order in statuary. It is the somewhat doubtful figure of Yuên-shi-t'ien-ts'un, a personification of Tao. Of the Taoist trinity (san Ts'ing) there only appears the figure of the deified Lao tse. A greater popularity is attained by the mythical figure—already appearing in the reliefs of the Han period—of Hsi-wang mu, the Queen Mother of the West. This is on account of her character of leader of the important band of *hsien*, and as guardian of the peaches of immortality in the garden of the Kun-lun mountain. For the peach is one of the cardinal symbols of vulgarized Taoism, and one of the most important objects with which immortality may be attained. In the legends of Hsi-wang mu we meet the figure of Tung-fang so, who stole Hsi-wang mu's peaches and had to drag them about with him as a heavy burden for 3000 years. There is also king Muh-wang, who visited Hsi-wang mu, and to whom she gave her peaches as a present. The real living symbol for an immortal life is, however, the deified Lao tse

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himself, to whom, by analogy with Buddhist and Visnu teaching, many "avatars" were ascribed. He appears as the god of long life, *Shou shen*, and is also blended with the Chinese Methuselah, *P'eng tsu*. It is obvious that his person would at once become a symbol of immortality, as from his union with *Tao*, which contains at once magic, strength, and the power of controlling the universe, our thought easily passes on to the idea of bodily immortality. In the triad of *Chou-hsing*, *Pu-hsing*, *Lu-hsing* he appears as the ideal of long life, together with the two other personified ideals of the Chinese man of the middle class: Success and the Dignities of Office.

Of the greatest interest, however, are the *hsien*, the genii, among which the *pah hsien*, groups put together in the Yuan period, are the most important. We find them constantly and in great numbers among our figures—*Li T'ieh Kuai* as a hobbling beggar, *Chang Kuo* with his mule, *Lü Tung Pin* with the magic sword, also belonging to the five literary deities, the bureaucratic *Chung li chüan* with the fan, *Ts'ao Kuo-chiu* with *Yin-yang-ban*, *Han Hsiang Tzū* with a basket of flowers and a sheaf of herbs, and *Lan Ts'ai-ho*, generally represented as a woman with a flute, *Ho Hsien ku* with the lotus-like ladle. They are all patrons of different callings and of various origins, some were originally historical personages, some figures of legendary fancy.

The most important and most popular of the protector gods are *Kuan Yü*, and—not surprising in a people as much interested in literature as the Chinese—the patrons of literature. China is known to have no fewer than five gods who are protectors of literature, but amongst our figures appear only *Wen-chang-ti-Kiün*, the hideous, demoniacal *Kuei-hsing*, and the patriarch *Lue*, the latter, however, rather as a member of the *Pah-hsien*. *Kuan Yü*, the hero of the novel *San-kuoh-chi yen-i*, is the symbol of defensive war, comradeship, and loyalty; he is at once the patron of war literature and of merchants. Further, we can mention *Liu-hai tschan*, a mythical figure who protects treasures and is the symbol of success and wealth. It is remarkable that in this category of gods of wealth we never find the house deity *Tsao* who was converted from an earth-protecting god into a god of wealth. Individual figures from the popular fairy tales and legends appear in sculpture—for instance, the marvellous doctor, *Tsung tsi mo*, with the tiger cat. Amongst these representations we find a few universal types of the *tao she*, or popular figures such as the eight immortal drinkers, among whom figures the poet *Li Po*, and also, as pendent to the Buddhist pair *Han-shan* and *Shih-te*, the two *ho ho*.

To all these symbols of persons is attached a profusion of emblems as attributes, ornamental symbols and representations of animals whose consideration here would lead us too far. We usually find the same subjects as in porcelain ornaments. Very often we find the subjects of the signs of *Chou*, the *fan tao* peaches and the *ling-chi* fungus.

The recurring similarity in all these different kinds of types and figures—*Arhats* and *hsien*, protector gods and representations of *san fu*—lies in their middle-class character and the strong tendency towards depicting persons, and in the way in

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which a human, earthly ideal is magnified into a mythological and religious projection of the superhuman. But it is this humanized, personal character which provides the basis for an æsthetic, picturesque formula.

If we glance over the whole domain of formal, artistic activities we find there a definite syncretism which hardly allows for a consistent style, all the more as data are lacking for an historical view of its construction. The reasons for this syncretism lie in the fact that we are not dealing with forms of purely plastic origin, but rather with a more interpretative employment of older subjects, or with forms and subjects which have been taken over from painting into sculpture. This is also because steatite sculpture seems to have no special, official province in creative art, but belongs rather to the domain of dilettantes or to painters or craftsmen who chanced for once in a way to handle steatite. This, however, may be just why we find a much more fresh, personal, spontaneous, and direct expression of power here than in the work of official school painters or even in the academic and stiff religious sculpture.

Forms used in painting were translated into plastic forms because in painting the religious and symbolic intention does not and cannot correspond to so strong a personal impulse, for this demands a concrete, tangible symbol to which the idea of worship can in some way or other be attached. And this can only be achieved by plastic form. The partial derivation of the type from painting, or its modification from painting, added to the literary and decorative tendencies belonging to all middle-class art, laid down from the beginning quite definite conditions for plastic composition. Steatite complied with these conditions as no other material did. For, unlike jade, which is very hard, it is extremely soft—easy to cut and work with the knife. It thus lends itself to more lively and narrative expression, and possesses, besides, quite extraordinary possibilities for colour effects with all their charm. The shades play in and out of deep shining black, lustreless duff yellow or red, translucent shimmering cream or silver grey. These colour effects are enhanced in some places by painting, so that we can speak of the harmonious union of the qualities of painting and sculpture.

As various religious subjects gain in value by being brought together in steatite sculpture, in the same way many artistic subjects come together to gain an artistic unity. We can classify these sculptures according to their different points of interest. I shall now make a short survey of the most important of these groups, although space forbids me to give illustrations.

The typical form of Buddhist figures is directly and naturally connected with the older Buddhist art, and to one of its latest phases of development which is characterized by a general humanizing of ideas and a preference of the human type to a purely divine image of God. Steatite sculpture seems to be modelled, not on older sculpture, but on the religious painting developed from it in the Sung and Yüan periods. In the first place it is concerned with the group representing Arhats, in itself a considerable number. In spite of the influence of painting, these types have remained quite authentically plastic in character. The older plastic characteristics, such

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as facing to the front, compactness, great simplicity, and conciseness, and others suitable to carving in stone, continue to be effective. Two different types can be distinguished: one of youthful character, recognizable by the weak modelling and the passiveness of attitude and expression; the other of a more actively reflective character, strongly cut, with marked facial expression and intricate modelling of the surfaces. An increased tension rules the expression of these faces in a kind of mixture of the old Kaçyapa type, the deities of watching and protection belonging to the older pantheon. Popular influences appear strongly in them, especially in gesture and symbolic expression. With this type of Arhat, however, must be reckoned Taoist figures such as Tsung tsi mo. We must also mention the resemblance between the special Ho Shang type and that of Liu-hai. In the same way the figures of Buddha as an ascetic and of Ta-mo are related to the Arhat type, but the former are worked up so as to be more individual in character and more inward in expression. Just this factor, however, points to another artistic tradition, viz. Zen painting. In this painting of the Sung and Yüan periods, which is impregnated with the spirit of Taoism, another really much bigger group is rooted, quite different to the plastic type of the Arhat.

We are here dealing especially with figures of Tao-she, the Taoist hermits and wise men, as well as with representations of Lao-tse or his disciples, and of P'eng-tsu. All the modelling is weaker, more flowing, more picturesque, and more refined, with rich and delicately felt drawing on the inner surfaces, with preference for floral patterns. In expression they are withdrawn and lyrical, as if more disposed towards an inner relaxation of a passively reflective character. Besides these picturesque, cultivated figures, however, are also some of deliberate and complete simplicity, austere and almost primitive, and full of severe concentration in the expression of spirit and soul. They are of a purely poetic character. But within this Zen group the mystic feeling of the old Taoist wisdom, impregnated with nature worship, breaks out violently. We find here figures which might have come from the pictures of a Hui tsung. We can see that this stylistic group influenced Buddhist steatite sculpture, especially with regard to the representation of Buddhist saints (priest with lotus), as well as Ti tsang. It is not surprising that a few Kuan Yin figures are related to them, for their figures belong to the group of subjects used in Zen painting and have been made afresh from these subjects. They are represented as thoughtful and mildly equable, with a soft but penetratingly clear rhythmical flow in the lines and planes. They are carved throughout in white stone in accordance with the usual colour scheme in painting and the legendary tradition.

Among the representations of Kuan Yin, however, we come upon figures which go back to another formal type. These should sometimes be brought into connexion with the contemporary porcelain and clay sculpture, others seem to be related to the type which was very prominent in the Ming period. In the first case the figures, which include representations of the female members of the Pah-hsien group, show an almost exaggeratedly weak and summary treatment, with very rounded surfaces, a mirror-like superficies, and a more reserved and purely representative aloofness.

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The shapes have a tendency to fullness and breadth. The use of white or cream-coloured stone in these cases aims at similarity with Fu-kien ware. It is possible that the type described above, of the young, weakly modelled Arhat, also belongs to the style of porcelain sculpture. The other type, which can be placed among Ming paintings, is recognizable by its preference for slim, small, tender figures, pleasing and almost elegant, with a refined, delicate surface and of a captivating charm of mat, shimmering, translucent material. The detailed execution of the accessories—the costume, the ornaments, the head-dress—is characteristic of this refined æsthetic type of Ming. The expression is governed by a capricious, somewhat coquettish and very feminine ideal of beauty. With representations of Kuan Yin belong some of the *Hsi-wang mu* and their nymphs, the female *hsien* such as Lan Ts'ai-ho and Ho Hsien-Ku, and amongst male figures the king Muh wang. In the Kang-hi period this type underwent a certain coarsening and baroque treatment, in which their fastidious refinement, especially in the drawing of the ornamentation, was lost.

Another group can be made of figures of a more statuesque and representative character, which cannot as a whole be more exactly placed. In general we are dealing here with figures in decidedly quiet attitudes, facing towards the front and with purely symbolic, representative gestures; some have strongly marked, characteristic accessories, and are somewhat dry and empty in the plastic treatment. In spite of their official costume and their statuesque attitudes they are throughout human in character and have all the peculiar marks of the middle class—they are either polished men of letters, or officials, austere and dignified, or good-natured, rather plump, comfortable citizens of good position. In the latter figures we also find the lively and often coarse features of peasants. They almost always represent people of historical origin and an official position, such as Kuan-ti, Wen ch'ang; the triad of the three *hsing* as ideal representations of middle-class officialdom, the founders Confucius and Huang Lao, the mythical incarnation of Lao tse, occur as well as some of the Pah-hsien such as Chung li Ch'üan, Chang Kuo, and Ts'ao Kuo-chiu.

Finally we must consider a group, on the whole, of a popular nature, a stylistic group which derives from many different elements of the existing repertory, but on the whole is independent and is to be taken as a self-contained production. As such its roots lie more in the department of literary than plastic art, in the literature of the people and in imaginative legends. Here, too, the factor of narrative is most noticeable; it increases from a purely representative gesture to a symbolic action or to the mobility of narration. The style of this group is not much bound by convention. The figures are freshly presented, generally in movement, with great stress laid on the features, and with a complicated plastic composition specially obtained by careful working in the round. Groups of figures are common here. The accessories are more broadly emphasized and more realistically noted down, with a preference for decided characters; they are often full of joviality and have a striking brevity of characterization. The emaciated, hobbling, fanatical Li T'ieh

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Kuai, the jolly, adventurous Liu hai on the three-legged toad, Tung fang burdened with his gigantic peach, and Fu-hsing smilingly offering the peach to the child—these are the favourite subjects of this popular, literary tendency. These popular elements come more directly into use in another series whose types have, as it were, the faces of the people themselves. These figures are, no doubt, to be connected with versions of the Filial Piety legends or representations of the Immortal Drinker. We have here, as well as in representations of the beggar Li T'ieh Kuai, in costume, attitude, gesture, and facial expression, portraits of the people themselves.

As far as a chronological arrangement of these figures is concerned, one can fix their dates only with the greatest caution, considering the syncretic character of this art and the persistence of individual forms or subjects. In general, one would naturally be inclined to ascribe the best pieces to earlier times. Besides this, certain indications are given in the way the fixed types are put together. We can thus place the statuesque and severely finished figures, as well as those which are full of inward concentration in the Zen style, back in the beginning of the Ming period. But it is useful to distinguish between the older statuesque type and one more archaic and stiff belonging to post-Ming times. In the course of the Ming period further development yielded a simplification in accordance with clay sculpture, and at the same time the æstheticizing, cultivated type of man came to the front. Good pieces of the popular, literary style seem to belong chiefly to the end of the Ming period. In the Kang-hi period a coarsening is already noticeable; the figures become more stumpy and cumbrous, more conventional and stiffer, and also more obtrusive, especially as far as the drawn ornamentation and painting is concerned. In later times the art petered out in a conventional imitation, hastily and coarsely executed, the exaggeration of the pictorial and narrative elements weakening the plastic structure, or the living attitude disappearing again in a stiff and unnaturally forced piece of stonemason's work. It is remarkable that we no longer have noble or subtly coloured kinds of stones, but in their place the well-known vulgarly speckled or marbled steatites come into use. Well-carved or early works of artistic value are also always admirable from the quality of the stone.

The general character of these steatite carvings can hardly be defined as one, for this art, taken as a whole, has different sides to it, whether we think of it as a synthesis of the principal plastic forms or a mixture of formal, objective, and literary elements. Purely plastic forms existing for themselves have hardly yet come into use. The factors belonging to the old sculpture—restfulness, weight, the internal conditioning of all formal relationships—these have disappeared in the more pictorial or relatively literary factors of movements, real bodily description and dependence on subjects lying outside the purely formal. At the same time the masses and their purely plastic, formal construction are broken up, and this is done in favour of a spacial enlargement, a differentiation of the setting, and a greater emphasis on a more active interest in the associated side issues. With all these figures the surrounding space plays a direct and active part; the contours are loosened, expand and move freely in space. The same is true of the gesture, and in consequence the whole

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pose is conceived as a bodily process in space. The composition is a-central, at least in so far as it is not centralized in the plastic proportion of the masses, or the purely formal arrangement, but has become an emblem whose importance lies in its subject or culminates definitely in the symbolic or narrative gesture. The structure of the bodies, too, does not depend in the first place on ideas of plastic form but on the actual objective reality. The surfaces are handled in a corresponding way—that is, as being a concrete statement, shaping the material—and hence are richly filled with realistic or decorative details, in various carvings sown over with decorations in the style of drawing and enhanced in some places by painting. The strokes of a hand used to painting and drawing are more often to be traced in the whole design than those of a sculptor's hand. At the same time, lasting symbolic and literary relationships are taken up through gesture, emblem, or ornament and the abstract value of the form is broken through by literary associations.

We can thus really not say that the plastic form has entirely disintegrated, for the interpretation of the pictorial and literary elements always remains one of a plastic kind. The strong personal character of the artist's idea presses as such directly and immediately on the plastic conception and transposition of the figure. The mass is not done away with or ignored by placing the centre of interest on the objects as such, but only treated differently by the sculptor. All movement is concentrated on the object as the principal element of the composition and is converted into a presentation in the round. But it is exactly this that, through the influence of painting, immediately had fruitful results, as became clearly visible in the elasticity of pose, the flow of the lines, the composition of the different surfaces, and the wealth of the plastic arrangement in the round. They are here shown as displacements from mere surfaces and arrangements about an axis. Gesture, too, retained great spacial freedom, but it remained bound to the plastic unity of the figure composition even when in a group.

The law of plastic form insists upon pithiness, brevity, and condensation especially as concerns the alteration of what is narrative into a representative symbolic gesture. It thus provides an important counterbalance to the danger of running into anecdote and making legends and myths commonplace by long-winded illustrations. In spite of the materially realistic orientation of the accessories their composition obeys the laws of plastic form, such as proportion, balance, and rhythm. The only difference is that the latter do not follow the principle of architectonic surfaces and abstract composition, but one more decorative and literary, that is, they serve a calligraphic arrangement and refinement of the ornament, or emphasize the meaning of the gestures. On the other hand, all calligraphic flourishes or pictorial elaboration and baroque degeneration and exuberance find a natural limit in the peculiarities of plastic form. But naturally the reciprocal relationship in the mixture and assimilation of pictorial and plastic principles is different with the different groups and figures.

But this whole orientation of the art towards facts and persons finds as such its equivalent, not only in decorative tendencies, but also in a generalization and a typification of these facts and persons with reference to the meaning of the contents.

SMALL CHINESE CARVINGS IN STEATITE

An actual materialization and material accentuation corresponds in art to the historical origin of the figures represented, or the sphere of existence of these beings closely bound to the human world. But at the same time their markedly fictitious character and their supernatural attributes demand a more ideal, purely typical, *representative formulation*. These figures, in spite of all realism, always remain types of a general, super-individual stamp, symbolically significant and of a representative character—concrete images of ideas and ideals.

But within these types, as can already be seen in the characterization of different groups, a significant wealth of variation has come to light, the cause of which is a direct and fresh observation of Nature in details. We might be inclined to point to the connexion with the tradition of portrait painting, chiefly the portraits of ancestors which come from ancestor worship. In these portraits, within a generally formal scheme, there is an individual characterization of the features. In steatite figures, too, it is precisely the face which shows a special degree of artistic directness, strength and wealth of expression. Again, here we can distinguish between two main classes: one kept more in the flat with details brought in, in the style of drawing or painting, and one more plastic, with strongly developed and continuous relief. The psychological and physionomical characteristics have in this way full scope for subtle variations. They range, for instance, from the type of Arhat straining his will to the dreamy, resigned Taoist wise men and dreamers, from the smiling, cheerful Liu hai to the fanatical Li T'ieh-kuai, from the bureaucratic dignity of a Wen Ch'ang to the demoniacal hideousness of a Kuei hsing, from the tender, elegant Si wang mu to the simple Shih-Te, from the soldierly energy of Kuan Ti to the rough peasant or the pious drinker.

This unpretending but rich art is throughout the art of the interior, of intimacy—it is sculpture in miniature, full of pictorial, decorative charm, plastic, figural realism, temperamental shades of expression, and symbolic and philosophical meanings. It is in short a melting-pot into which the wealth of an ancient civilization is poured, and where it finds a new interpretation in a middle-class and intimate or popular and coarse tradition; at the same time it is the last fruitful and important epoch of plastic development in China.

THE TUNES OF CHINESE POETRY

BY LOUISE STRONG HAMMOND

In the great wave of intellectual curiosity regarding Chinese culture which has recently spread over the West, many excellent translations have been made of the poetry of this oldest of nations. We are especially indebted to Arthur Waley, Florence Ayscough and Amy Lowell, Helen Waddell, and most recently Witter Bynner, for making available to the English-speaking public the principal poetic content of the vast treasury of Chinese verse. But there remains something still to be done to supplement their presentation—that is, to represent, as faithfully and unswervingly as possible in another language, the actual rhythm and melody of the lines, which form a very great part of the charm of poetry to the Chinese themselves. Verse, like all other sacraments, is composed of two elements, form and substance, body and soul. And since many translators have been busy with the substance of Chinese poetry, perhaps I may be permitted to make what small contribution I can to our appreciation of its form.

In considering the actual sound of Chinese verse, we are much assisted by one outstanding fact: that the Chinese themselves never read their poetry in an ordinary speaking voice, but chant it to themselves with well-defined tunes. Foreigners, on first hearing this kind of inflection, suppose that the Chinese are singing their verse, but are told that such is not the case—the poems are merely being read with their proper reciting tunes. Song-tunes for many of these poems also exist, but these are more elaborate and are to be classified as music. The reciting tunes are simple and are said to be inevitable to the adequate rendering of the poem as a poem. We are reminded by this of the musical poems of the Irish bards which Yeats has recently given us, and of the ancient legend that Homer himself chanted his epics. Our own poets have still kept the pretty trick of speaking of their works as “songs.” And then, of course, we have Vachel Lindsay.

Now it is quite possible to take down these Chinese reciting-tunes in musical notation, so clear is their tone sequence—unlike the perceptible but very minute variations of our own voices rising and falling in the melody of speech. This musical intonation is not confined to Chinese poetry, but is part of the general phenomena of the mastery of Chinese literature. It seems to be a rule among classical scholars that all compositions which are worthy of being studied at all are worthy of being learned by heart, and all compositions which are learned by heart are by the same token to be chanted. This chanting is of course a great aid to the memory, as our forefathers in the New England schools recognized when they gave the children tunes whereby to keep in mind the mysteries of the A B C. The method has its disadvantages also; as when in the old-fashioned Chinese school twenty or thirty boys are huddled together in a small room, each chanting his own book at the top of his lungs, at his own place and speed, irrespective of the diligent chanting of everyone of his school-mates in the same room. In such a school, whenever a boy is not emitting an unceasing stream of sound it is taken for granted that his mind has wandered and he is liable to a sudden rap on the knuckles from

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a vigilant teacher. These ordinary studying-tunes of prose can also be called musical in the sense that they are formed of tones varying by well-defined intervals which can be fairly well represented on our musical staff. Actually, however, they would be found too harsh and monotonous for music.

It must be evident that we can learn a great deal about the forms of Chinese poetry by making a study of the reciting-tunes wherewith the Chinese scholars in different parts of the country instinctively and traditionally clothe them. The tunes are not all alike, nor are they considered by Chinese scholars as of equal value. It is sometimes made a prerequisite by careful parents engaging a new teacher for their offspring that his reading-tunes shall be of an acceptable variety, as the children invariably mimic their teacher in learning the classics. The standard of correctness with regard to these tunes must, however, be extremely subtle, for no two teachers would ever read the same composition in exactly the same way, nor would the same teacher be sure to strike precisely the same notes twice in repeating a poem. Thus much liberty is allowed. But that certain underlying principles exist and can be grasped subconsciously by a good Chinese teacher cannot be open to doubt. And by comparing the tunes of many Chinese *literati* with each other, perhaps we may be able consciously to lay hold of the fringes of these principles. The field is so great that I have made only a beginning in noting down the poem-tunes of scholars from different regions. Such as they are, however, I think they may be found suggestive.

The tunes which I have collected have been taken down from the lips of Chinese scholars from a number of different provinces. Because of the great reverence which they feel for the literature of the ancients, these gentlemen have shown a truly Eastern patience in chanting the poems over and over for me line by line until they and I were both satisfied with the accuracy of my reproduction. In a few places there was a curious slur of the voice or sliding scale which I could not quite convey by my notation, but I can claim a very rigid fidelity in not putting down a single phrase or note which I did not hear. I have been particularly scrupulous about my time-notation, as it is chiefly along the lines of the rhythm of Chinese verse that these tunes throw the greatest light. To my own surprise, in translating the poems into English to fit the tunes, I became aware of certain structural peculiarities of the Chinese line which seemed to have been overlooked by all commentators, Chinese and foreign.

First, let me say a few words regarding my method of translation. It had seemed to me necessary for the sake of those who do not understand Chinese to give some words to these tunes which would bring out their character. Rather rashly I undertook to substitute a single syllable in English for each syllable of the Chinese original, without the slightest deviation or liberty or phrasing. This is a difficult enough task even with two related languages like English and German, but, considering the alien nature of the Chinese, it is more rigorous still. Chinese (as we all know) is a monosyllabic language, and where there occurred in one line seven syllables there are necessarily seven characters or words with seven different

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meanings. Now in our English version, if we use the word "apricot" to convey the meaning of the Chinese "hsing," it is evident that we have already used up three of our seven syllables and must boldly leave out the translation of two other Chinese words. The difficulty is further increased by the fact that a formal Chinese poem is already more condensed than any verse we have in English, leaving no padding at all to be stripped off. Even in personal pronouns and other minor words, which seem to us indispensable, have been entirely omitted, so that a poem might begin in Chinese thus: "Walk in field," where we should be obliged to say, "*I walk in the field.*" Thus we are at a double disadvantage, and it is clear that a translator must sacrifice some part of the original, either material or form. I have chosen to sacrifice a part of the material. Sometimes I have boldly omitted as much as one-half of the actual words of the original, preserving my own integrity by steadily refusing to introduce any kind of extraneous material. Where willows and flowers are mentioned as emblems of the Spring, I have kept the willows and omitted the flowers. I would never in any case bring in an "April shower," which is our own symbol for the same.

In order to give effect to the meter, I have bodily transferred, not only the syllabic-scheme of the Chinese, but also the rhyme-scheme, which is often very elaborate and complicated. The rhymes themselves are much like our own—*tai, kai, lai*, for instance—and in the older poetry there are even many cases of feminine rhyme, an unaccented and unchanging word following the accented and rhymed words. In one of my versions, that called "To Welcome a Guest," in order to show the style of Tu Fu, the purist, I have even kept the "balanced sentences" which are necessary to the full formality of what is called "regulated verse."

I have, however, one confession to make, even as to form. It seems a wellnigh invariable rule of Chinese verse that each line must be a unit in itself, the thought pausing methodically after the given number of syllables. Now in many of my versions I have done the same in English, but not in all. Sometimes I have broken the rule because of sheer technical necessity—the sentences insisted on turning out too long to fit the form. A few times, I think, I have broken the rule because its monotony has become intolerable to my Anglo-Saxon ear.

In general, however, the more I have worked at these English versions, the more encouraged I have become. It seems to me that the mechanically limited and impeccable little lines make possible a kind of neat beauty which is not to be found in the fuller and more irregular translations. If the reader wants to know the complete thought of the poet, he can look at some other translation. I have tried to give the impression which the verse makes on the mind of the Chinese themselves. Or, perhaps, it would be better to say I have tried to rewrite the poem in English as the author himself would have done, if he had suddenly found himself possessed of a knowledge of the English language without any accompanying tradition of the forms of English poetry. Having lived in China for ten years I find that my own mind has an increasingly Chinese bent. And this method of translation seems more legitimate to the Chinese than an easier and vaguer one. Versification in the Chinese

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language is not merely inspirational, but is the delicate pastime of the erudite. In this is its strength and weakness. At worst it is stiff, empty, and laboured. At best it has the exquisite and gracious minuteness of an ivory miniature framed in pearl. It seems, therefore, somehow wrong to give it the space of a fresco. So strong has my conviction on this point become, that I find I must remind myself that a translation into the English language is not done after all to satisfy a Chinese sense of the fitness of things, but to appeal to the æsthetic appreciation of the English-speaking public. And of course to this there are many approaches.

Returning to the question of the tunes and the rhythm of Chinese verse, I found my very first attempt at fitting English words into these tunes to be full of suggestions as to the construction of the lines themselves. It became immediately evident that the words in the lines of all the poems were divided by the tunes into little groups, most regularly of two syllables, one of which was accented. When English syllables were substituted for the Chinese, these had to be carefully chosen in order that the words might fall naturally. Then, separating the words from the tunes, I discovered that by this alien process I had produced the most familiar of all phenomena—an alternation of a strong beat with a weak beat in the line, giving the effect of iambs or trochees, according to the beginning of the line.

This result was more astounding than may at first appear. The surprise lies in the fact that, to the best of my knowledge, no prosodist has ever so much as suggested that the Chinese line could be measured like ours with a foot-rule. Amy Lowell has even categorically and *a priori* (for she confesses that she knows no Chinese) denied the possibility of such a thing. Says she: "Another one of the differences which divide the technique of Chinese poetry from our own is to be found in the fact that nothing approaching our metrical foot is possible in a tongue which knows only single syllables." The logic of this sentence is not quite clear. Why cannot monosyllables be given feet to run with as well as polysyllables? I think it might be quite instructive to consider the old English jingle:

*"Jack Sprat could eat no fat,
His wife could eat no lean."*

Arthur Waley, in the very scholarly introduction to his 170 *Chinese Poems*, says: "The expedients consciously used by the Chinese before the 6th century were rhyme and length of line." A third element, inherent in the language, was not exploited before that date, but must always have been a factor in instinctive considerations of euphony. This element was tone. No mention is made at all of the existence of feet within the line, and it is evident that the Chinese themselves had never considered this phenomenon. And yet there is nothing improbable about the supposition that a very perceptible metrical foot has been one of the unvarying features of Chinese verse since the beginning.

We may draw an analogy from the Chinese language itself. In spite of the meticulous attention given by scholars to the analysis of every character in the language and the distinction of shades of meaning between two phrases, no one had ever

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conceived the idea of the syntactical construction of the language as we understand it. And yet foreigners coming in are able to classify the Chinese words with considerable clearness into nouns, verbs, and adjectives. The difference of function has always existed, although with more freedom than in English, and the complete sentences of good authors are invariably found to have a logical grammatical development. Thus the modern Chinese have now for the first time come to recognize the rules which their ancestors had instinctively followed—rules inherent in the fundamental nature of speech. In the same way there is every likelihood that Chinese verse obeys more of the universal laws of human song than have ever been discussed in this connexion.

When I first began fitting English words to the poem-tunes, which I obtained from Chinese in the city of Wusih, I was much puzzled by an apparent contradiction. The tunes used by my own very scholarly teacher, Mr. Chiu Chang-Nien, for the seven-character line of orthodox poetry, were found to begin on a weak syllable, and have a stress on the second, fourth, and sixth syllables, with a little final stress on the seventh syllable also. Thus the general effect of the line was distinctly iambic. These tunes, I found, were repeated over and over and, with slight alterations, made to fit every poem, no matter what its subject, written in the given verse-form. Thus the tune was seen to be a development more of the meter than of the meaning of the poem. Variations of emotion were said to be brought out by the quality of voice. But the tunes commonly used by the ladies of Wusih, when repeating poetry over their embroidery frames, were found to be built of simple and ringing trochees, stressing unfailingly just the odd syllables of the line, beginning with the first. Thus when I translated a poem to fit Mr. Chiu's tune, I could not possibly use the same English words to fit a lady's tune for the same Chinese poem.

It was evident from this that the monosyllabic character of the Chinese had in fact weakened the effect of accent as we know it in English, so that the stress of a foot might sometimes be transferred from what had been the strong syllable to what had been the weak syllable. The grouping of the syllables in the line, however, two at a time, remained the same in both kinds of tune, thus :—

Scholar's tune	.	.	5	1	5	1	5	1
Lady's tune	.	.	1	5	1	5	1	5

And if the division of a line of poetry into metrical feet is really, as in the theory of many modern prosodists, to be considered more a question of regular time intervals than of accent, as we were formerly taught, this misplacing of the stress in the ladies' tunes is perhaps not so vital.

That those ladies who have been only half-educated actually do misplace the *inherent stress of the Chinese line*, was made clear to me later when I began to take down the reciting-tunes of learned men from many parts of China. I found that with one accord but without knowledge of each other (for these poem-tunes have never been written down by the Chinese) the better scholars from Peking to Canton were chanting the seven-character line of their "regulated" verse in exactly the

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same rhythm and with exactly the same stress as Mr. Chiu of Wusih. The actual melodies and pitch of the voice were different, some were more elaborate than others, but the general effect of the rhythm was identical, the second, fourth, sixth and seventh characters being brought out with force and clearness. Thus an English translation made for Mr. Chiu's tune would fit just as easily into the tune of any other scholar, no matter what his province. And the presumption was inevitable that, within the compass of the Chinese line, the words were so ordered by traditional feeling for good form that the meaning was best brought out by the alternate stressing of syllables according to a definite pattern. For the honour of the feminine sex, let me hastily add that I later discovered many ladies who actually used the same rhythm in reciting poetry as their more favoured fathers.

So far I have omitted all discussion of the question of "tone" and its influence on these reciting-tunes, but it must be considered before we go further. To quote again from Mr. Waley: "Chinese prosody distinguishes between two tones, a 'flat' and a 'deflected.' In the first the syllable is enunciated in a level manner: the voice neither rises nor sinks. In the second it (1) rises, (2) sinks, (3) is abruptly arrested. These varieties make up the Four Tones of Classical Chinese." Thus every word in the Chinese language may, for the purposes of poetry, be classified as either "flat" or "deflected" in tone. And in the much-used verse-form which we are especially considering a definite succession of tones throughout the line has been prescribed by those who first "regulated" the verse. A typical couplet, for instance, follows this order:

Flat, flat, deflected, deflected, flat, flat, deflected,
Deflected, deflected, flat, flat, deflected, deflected, flat.

There is a definite break after the fourth syllable of each line, which one can call a *cæsura*, and the tone-pattern seems to begin afresh here. As a poem is actually chanted, the meter of the last half of the line seems less clear than that of the first half. I have not been able to keep the *cæsura* in English.

Now Mr. Waley has himself pointed out the tendency for the tones in "regulated" verse to go in *pairs*, which correspond very readily with the grouping of two syllables into feet in my English versions. Thus, if Chinese verse is indeed metrical, one foot would be composed of two "flat" tones in succession, and the next of two "deflected" tones. I think Mr. Waley failed to develop this line of thought because of a kind of presupposition in his mind, which he had already stated, that "the deflected tones . . . have a faint analogy to our stressed syllables and . . . even . . . to the long vowels of Latin prosody." Now it is my belief that in Chinese "regulated" verse, every alternate word, whether "flat" or "deflected," is by its own value and meaning naturally stressed a little as in English and lengthened a little as in Latin—in fact, the Chinese tunes definitely and accurately prove the lengthening of each even syllable of the line, not of the "deflected" tone in itself. The effect of the tones on the rhythm, then, is merely the isolation of the syllable groups by the change from one tone to the other. In this way we might consider

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tone to be a kind of embellishment in the interior of the line, after the manner of our alliteration, helping to bring out the natural tendency of the syllables themselves to fall into metrical feet.

The effect of tone on the melody proper is very ornamental, causing the rise and fall of the voice at various points of the line. In general, the pitch rises for a "deflected" tone and falls for a "flat" tone, although the exact interval is not specified. The tunes of two good scholars for the same poem, whatever their variety, would thus keep not only the same rhythm, but also the same general melodic curve or pattern. This is found true of the poem-tunes coming from widely separated parts of the country.

Now there is one very surprising exception to the rule regarding the exact succession of tones throughout the line in "regulated" verse. It is the statement, known to every scholar, that syllables one, three, and five of the seven-syllable form (syllables one and three of the five-syllable form) are not bound to observe the laws of tone. *Almost all of the famous poets have allowed themselves on the odd syllables of the line to use a "flat" tone where a "deflected" tone would be called for, and vice versa.* The voice of the reader varies also with these variations, but the general melodic formula of the tune is not felt to have been affected, as long as the tones of the even syllables are not tampered with. Does not this conscious exception to the rule bear out very strongly the same fact which I obtained experimentally from my work with the tunes, namely, that syllables two, four, six, and seven have a kind of inherent strength or stress which practically divides the line into metrical feet?

So far I have been speaking only of the formal "regulated" verse, because the reading-tunes for this are more definite and musical than for the older, freer kinds of verse. I believe, however, that the metrical foot, or the regular stressing of certain syllables in the line, was one of the original elements, even of the most primitive Chinese poetry, long before the orderly arrangement of the tones became popular. In the common nursery rhymes or jingles, which are repeated by country people at present, there is a very clear and rhythmical stressing of every other syllable, and at times the hurrying of two unaccented syllables into the time of one, in order that the next stress may not be delayed. Thus, in a line which we might call in general trochaic, there would be introduced a sudden dactyl. This must be apparent to anyone with even a slight acquaintance with this form of popular Chinese doggerel. Now the Book of Odes itself is nothing more than a collection of folk-songs made probably a long time before the days of Confucius. And I have found among modern nursery rhymes certain little verse forms with an uneven number of syllables in the lines which correspond exactly to the number of syllables in the successive lines of the stanza of a number of the Odes. It would seem probable, then, that the Odes also were read or sung originally with an emphatic measure and lilt very like that of their less distinguished successors.

It is an amusing commentary on the almost superstitious reverence for the classics felt by scholars of the old school, that they very seldom allow themselves the liberty of reciting the Odes with all the fervour and metrical variety suggested by

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the lines themselves. Most of these poems have four syllables to a line. Where an occasional line occurs with five syllables, instead of slurring two syllables together, as would be done in modern folk-songs, these learned gentlemen merely add time-length to the line, with a curiously deadening effect. The lines are ordinarily read very evenly, almost entirely without distinguishable beat, the syllables seeming almost of equal value and the time of one syllable being added for a rest at the end of each line. It has seemed to me simplest, in writing down such reading-tunes, to include each line of four characters with its accompanying rest in a single musical measure of five beats.

Occasionally, however, the Odes are read with a kind of elasticity and spring which must be very suggestive of their long-lost and long-mourned-for musical settings. Believing that the words of the Odes actually contain the secret of certain very interesting rhythmical patterns, I have several times explained this theory to different Chinese gentlemen and asked them to point out to me the words to be stressed. The best example of this treatment is in the Ode called "Your Skill." You will notice how irregular and complicated the system of syllables is in this poem—a system repeated identically in the three stanzas. For this poem, I asked three different scholars, unknown to each other, to mark the stressed syllables. Each insisted at first that he had no authority for so doing. With a foreigner's unreasoning persistency I assured them that I was not looking for authority, but merely for their own instinct in the matter. With expressions of deep humility, they thereupon proceeded to mark—all three of them, in every line—the same irregularly spaced characters! I have now translated the poem, which Legge has called a piece in itself of little value, according to the meter marked out by these three scholars, with an English accent where they placed the stress. It is quite apparent that the stanza must be scanned thus:

What your | skill, | Ah! |
Meeting me | out to | kill, | Ah! |
Wild boars | on | Nao | Hill, | Ah! |
There you | praised my | skill, | Ah! |

You will notice that in the first line there are two feet each of one syllable only, *skill* and *Ah*. In English we would say that the commas take the place of the omitted weak syllables. Dare we say the same in Chinese, which is innocent of all punctuation marks? I think so, because the fact remains that the three gentlemen actually paused after each of these beats, lengthening the stressed syllable to the time-value of two syllables. The second line, on the contrary, shows a foot containing three syllables, like those often met in the nursery rhymes which I have mentioned. We have thus in one short stanza types of feet of one, two, and three syllables, giving practically all the variety which we know in English. I might mention that when I told the last two of my three Chinese scholars that I had already obtained the same results regarding this poem by my irregular method of appealing to the ear only, they were much astounded and impressed.

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From these first results of a laboratory method applied to the study of the forms of Chinese verse, it seems practically certain that we now have to add to the three acknowledged elements mentioned by Waley, a fourth omnipresent, but unrecognized element: time-divisions within the line, marked off by a rhythmical accent.

I realize very fully the limitation in scope of the material here presented and the entire omission of some of the important forms of Chinese poetry, such as the longer *Tz'u* and the *Fu*. Mr. Waley, in his recent book, *The Temple*, has contributed a great deal to our knowledge of this kind of literature, and we are much indebted to him. I hope to be able later to do some work with the tunes of these longer poems.

My own purpose in undertaking this kind of work has been quite definite—to find out the actual laws relating the words of the Chinese language with the tunes which are most natural to them, for the sake of the liturgy of the Chinese Christian Church. Art has always been the handmaid of religion, and where such an essentially beautiful and highly developed art exists, as in China, it would seem a pity to discard it in favour of a less effective, because unsuitable, foreign usage. The Gregorian form of Church music is found much more nearly adapted to Chinese singing than modern music, but even this does not so clearly bring out the meaning of the words as do the Chinese tunes whose main outline is inherent in the original sound of the words. It is my hope that, by the limited amount of experimenting I can do in this very productive field, I may be able to stimulate the interest of the Chinese themselves, who can then carry the work much further than would be possible to an outsider.

THE WIND

From the Book of Odes

(Attributed to the Lady Djwang Giang)

*O cruel Wind,
With smile too kind,
I know thy mind ;
No peace I find.*

*O Wind of Dust,
Come as thou must,
I cannot trust
Thy fitful gust.*

*O Wind too deep,
Again too deep,
Banished is sleep,
Waking I weep.*

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*The thunder rolls,
The darkness gains,
Banished is sleep,
Sorrow remains.*

NOTE.—The Lady Djwang Giang was the wife of Duke Djwang, who succeeded to the State of Wei in 756 B.C. This lady was very virtuous and is still held in honour by the Chinese. Her husband, however, was faithless, and it is to him that she refers under the figure of the wind.

WHEN THE PRINCE IS OUT HUNTING

From the Book of Odes

*Lacking you,
Town has no folk.
Has it no folk?
None like my lord,
Handsome and true.*

*While you chase,
No one can drink.
Can no one drink?
None, O my lord,
With equal grace.*

*You away,
No one can ride.
Can no one ride?
None like my lord,
Valiant and gay.*

NOTE.—In the original of this poem, lines one, two, three, and five of each stanza rhyme with each other, line four being a refrain which does not rhyme. In each case the last words of lines two and three are identical, as in my version. I have not been able, however, to use as many rhymes in English as occur in the Chinese, and have therefore allowed the repeated words to stand by themselves.

YOUR SKILL

From the Book of Odes

*What your skill, Ah!
Meeting me out to kill, Ah!
Wild boars on Nao Hill, Ah!
There you praise my skill, Ah!*

*What your charm, Ah!
Riding to Nao to harm, Ah!
Beasts, we spread alarm, Ah!
And you praise my arm, Ah!*

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*What your art, Ah !
Southward from Nan we start, Ah !
Wolves to see them dart, Ah !
There you praise my part, Ah !*

NOTE.—Legge calls this number "frivolous and vainglorious compliments exchanged by the hunters of Ts'e." It is evidently a satire, perhaps by someone who did not care for hunting. The word which I have rendered by "Ah!" is called in the dictionary a "euphonic expletive." It has no meaning, but is often placed at the end of lines in the Odes. In translating this poem I have kept the original form very accurately. I have allowed myself, however, a little more liberty than usual with the text, inasmuch as the word "arm" and the phrase "to see them dart" have no real counterpart in the original.

TO WELCOME A GUEST

*By Tu Fu
(T'ang Dynasty)*

*To north and south are spring floods,
Where ceaseless flocks of gulls soar.
No guest had found my dim path
Till you approached the closed door.
The market's far for food's taste,
The household's poor for wine's store;
But if the neighbour's called in,
He'll drink with us a cup more.*

NOTE.—This is one of the many poems written by Tu Fu about his little thatched hut in the country. It is a perfect example of the "regulated verse" type, in which the poet, known as a purist, carefully observes the laws regarding "balanced sentences" which are so often cheerfully broken by his friend Li Po. You will notice the exact correspondence of word for word in sentences three and four and sentences five and six. One Chinese teacher, in explaining this form to me, remarked, "Regulated verse has the form of a dog: First comes a couplet which is not balanced, like the head of the dog. Then come two balanced couplets, like the fore-legs and hind-legs. Finally, there is another couplet which is not balanced, like the tail of the dog."

THE SUDDEN COMING OF SPRING

*By Cheng Hao
(Sung Dynasty)*

*Scant clouds just flake the noon sky;
By willowed streamlets stroll I.
But men know not my heart's joy
And say, "Old fool, the hours fly."*

THE TUNES OF CHINESE POETRY

AN OLD MAN'S SONG OF SPRING

By Seng Dji-nan

(Sung Dynasty)

*Among the trees I may yet
Enjoy the day at sunset ;
For willow winds are not cold,
Apricot rains are not wet.*

NOTE.—This poem has no exact title in Chinese, but is called only *Drash Gq*, which is the name of the verse-form. I have taken a great liberty with the original of this poem by changing the symbol of old age from a staff which supports the man's steps to a sunset in the sky, both of which are often used in Chinese verse. Also the word *apricot* in English, which is accented on the first syllable instead of the second, has involved using a rest in the music which would not otherwise appear. But as Mr. Tsai in giving this tune sometimes lengthened the second syllable of that line and sometimes did not, this variation seemed justifiable. This is the only case in which I have changed the tune as much as a hairbreadth for the sake of the English.

NIGHT-TIME IN SPRING

By Wang An-shih

(Sung Dynasty)

*Silence reigns where sound has been ;
Chill the breeze, half soft, half keen ;
While the moon through sleepless hours
Shifts dark blossoms up the screen.*

THE SORROWING BEAUTY

By Li Po

(T'ang Dynasty)

*Beneath the pearl blind
She seeks a still spot.
We see her tears fall—
For whom, we know not.*

NOTE.—It might be interesting to give a literal translation of this poem, word for word. It has five words to the line, and is of the form called in English the "short-stop" of "regulated verse," because it has only four lines instead of the full eight.

RESENTFUL FEELING

*Beautiful person rolls pearl curtain.
Deep sits frowning moth eye-brow.
Only see tear traces wet—
Not know heart mourns whom.*

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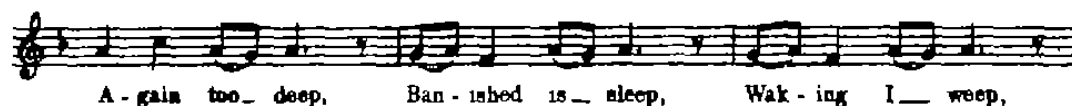
NO 1

Traditional Scholarly Reading Tune
for the Book of Odes.

THE WIND.

From the Book of Odes.

Tune as read by
MR CHIU CHANG-NIEN



THE TUNES OF CHINESE POETRY

NO. 2.

Scholar's Tune for the Truncated Form of Regulated Verse (Kiangsu Province.)

CHWEN RIH OU CHENG.

THE SUDDEN COMING OF SPRING.

Poem by
CHENG HAO.

Tune given by
CHIU CHANG-NIEN.

Moderato.

The musical score is written in Western staff notation, featuring a treble and bass clef. The tempo is marked 'Moderato.' The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are written in Chinese characters with English translations below them. The score is divided into four systems, each containing two staves (treble and bass). The lyrics are as follows:

Yün dan feng ching gin wu tien Pang
Scant clouds just flake the noon sky; By

hwa sui lin gwo tsien chwan. Shi
Will - lowed stream - lets stroll. I. But

ren buh shih yu sin loh Dziang
men know not my heart's joy And

wei tou hsien hsioh shao nien
say "Old fool, the flowers fly!"

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NO 3.

Scholar's Tune for the Truncated Form of Regulated Verse (Anhui Province.)

DZUEH GU.

Poets by
SENG DJI-NAN

AN OLD MAN'S SONG OF SPRING.

Tune given by
TSIN SHOU-SHAN

Moderato.

Gu mah ying djung hsi dwan peng.
A - mong the trees I may get.

Djang li fu o gwo chiao dung.
En - joy the day at sun set;

Djan i yuh shih hsing hwa yu.
For well low winds are not cold,

Chui mien buh han yang liu teng.
A - pri - col rains are not wet.

THE TUNES OF CHINESE POETRY

NO. 4.

Lady's Tune for the Truncated Form of Regulated Verse.

CHWEN YEH. NIGHT-TIME IN SPRING.

Poem by
WANG AN-SHIH

Tune given by
CHIU CHANG-NIEN.

Con moto.

Gia lu hsiang dzin— lou— sheng— tsan.
Si - lence reigns where— sound— has— been.

Dien dzien ching feng— djen djen han— Chwen seh nas ren
Chill the breeze, half— soft, half keen;— While the moon through

mien buh deh. Yueh i hwa— ying shang lan gan.
sleep - less hours Shifts dark blue - some up the screen.

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CATALOGUE OF THE INDIAN COLLECTIONS IN THE MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON. PARTS I-II.

PORTFOLIO OF INDIAN ART.

By A. K. COOMARASWAMY, D.Sc.(Lond.). Boston, 1923.

PART I

Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy's new catalogues of the Indian collections will no doubt be most welcome to everyone interested in Indian art in general, though they are written only on the collections at Boston Museum where he is the keeper of Indian and Mohammedan art. The first part is a general introduction to the development of Indian culture and civilization from the earliest times to the present day, and forms a very sound basis for the proper understanding and appreciation of the best works of Indian art. Special emphasis is laid only on those aspects of *Indian thought which are essential for having a clear idea of the Indian standpoint* of art. The introduction is supplemented by a short chronology, a classification of art by periods and styles, and a bibliography. According to Dr. Coomaraswamy, the earliest Indian culture, that of the Vedic period, is assigned between 1500-800 B.C., which is, however, quite recent in comparison with the Egyptian culture. That period seems to represent the infancy of Indian religious life. Its polytheism is the expression of that childlike spirit of awe which for the first time brings the primitive man face to face with a power stronger than himself, and thus makes the beginnings of religion. But, while in its inception, this polytheism was nothing more than the deification of the forces of nature, with the emergence of rituals in the midst of this pure unsophisticated Nature-worship, Nature herself was thrown into the background, and the gods and goddesses that symbolize in popular imagination her varied manifestations came to the fore as independent realities. Then, just by the way of a reaction against the resulting stagnation of religious growth, the periods of the Upanishads set in by the end of the 8th century B.C. Their central idea was that of the unity of all life. They perceived in the diversities of life and nature a pervading unity, and the polytheistic creed of the Vedic period developed with this revelation into an enlightened monotheism. But the dear old gods and goddesses, though acknowledging the supremacy of an Overlord, did not altogether vanish from India. Polytheism never died, only readjusted itself to the vitalizing revelation of the Oneness of God. Rituals accumulated as before, and underneath the huge pile lay hid once more the truth, as the authors of the Upanishads had found it. The much needed stimulus towards progress was supplied at this stage by the great Buddha, who, without reaching the emotional heights of the authors of the Upanishads, approached the problem of spiritual life more or less in a rationalistic way and exhorted his followers, "Be ye lamps unto yourselves." This essentially rationalistic development of Hinduism could not get a permanent foothold in India, where, as in most other countries, the emotional element in religion counts for much more than the philosophical. Thus we find Buddhism itself transformed later on into a new

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shape—the Mahāyāna, which is the real source and inspiration of the bulk of the Buddhistic art, for the abstruse philosophical nature of early Buddhism neither needed nor created an expression in art.

Meanwhile, under the impact of the new ideas following in the wave of Buddhism, the ritualistic religion of the orthodox Hindus took a new turn towards philosophy, although it never failed to have its devotional side reinforced by fresh appeals to popular imagination through a new form of polytheism, where Vishnu, Shiva, and the Devi were the dominating figures, the earlier gods and goddesses having been thrown into a position of subordination. The Vaishnavas, the worshippers of Vishnu, play the most important part in the history of Indian art and religion. The two great epics, the Ramāyana and the Mahā-Bhārata, are both Vaishnava in character. Like Buddhism, there is in Vaishnavism a repudiation of rituals, but, unlike it, the cult of Bhakti or Love becomes supreme here. This doctrine finds its clearest and most consummate expression in Bhāgavat-Gīta—The Song of the Lord—a philosophico-ethical poem where we find a reconciliation between the theory of Moksha or release from ceaseless revolving in the cycle of existence and the theory of social obligation. The god of the Vaishnavas is a composite personality, whose body consists of the world and individual souls. The universe to them is a theophany and not a mirage. This concept forms the intellectual background of Vaishnavism. In Shaivism, Shiva is represented in two forms—Lingam and Nataraja—the unmanifest and manifest forms of the Supreme Being, or, in the words of Ruysbroeck, Eternal Rest and Eternal Work. The cult of the Devi is absorbed by the Brahminism from non-Aryan sources. The Devi is conceived as the consort as well as the Sakti—energy of Shivā. To the Saktas, the worshippers of the Devi, the cosmic energy is feminine, and according to them she is there in all of us. By awakening the energy (sakti) in oneself by that kind of Yoga practice which is called Tantric, spiritual freedom may be attained. The influence of the various Tantrās, Hindu as well as Buddhist, on later Indian art is very considerable.

Dr. Coomaraswamy then discusses æsthetics in its relation to Indian art. Rigid rules might have been laid down for the guidance of the artists, but special stress was laid upon the necessity of visualizing the idea seeking expression in the images. To quote an Indian authority, "From mental vision he (artist) should establish in temples the images of deities who are the objects of his devotion. . . . Thus, and not otherwise, and verily not by direct observation, is the end to be attained." The Rajput paintings at Ajanta—representations of mythological legends—betray a little less of concentration on the central idea than the single images, but nevertheless it may be said of Oriental art in general, that "the elements of the natural world depicted by the Oriental artists—Chinese painter of mist and mountain or Indian painter of herdsman and milkmaids—are the signs of general ideas, the outward forms of a universal life." It is also very true to a large extent that art for the sake of art was foreign to Indian consciousness, though, like most generalizations, such a statement is bound to suffer from historical inaccuracy. Some reviews on the early books on art by Dr. A. N. Tagore and Dr. A. K. Maitreya show very clearly the

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highly analytical power of the former authors on æsthetics in its relation to painting. Unfortunately there are few specimens of such works, the reason being, perhaps, that popular demand is frequently, if not always, for images done faithfully after the prescriptions of the priests.

PART II

The second part of the catalogue deals with the history of Indian sculptures, mythologies, and demography. It is also profusely illustrated with selections from the Boston Museum. Indian sculpture seems to have originated from the idea of "ancestor worship," and apparently the earliest sculptures traced up to now are those of some figures of kings assigned to the 5th and 6th century B.C. Images of deities were, however, executed earlier in the Vedic period, but being done on impermanent materials are all lost. From about 200 B.C. during the prevalence of Buddhism it was that the real art movement in India started. It was then greatly influenced by Hellenistic and Persian art. The images of Buddha are, however, sometimes hard to distinguish from those of the Brahminical gods owing to the fact that they were mostly done after the style of Brahminical deities. The specifically Buddhist art begins only with tokens and medals which were carried away by the pilgrims as souvenirs of the sacred sites visited. There are also specimens of sculpture of a purely Indian character, of which Amarāvati Stupa is the most famous. The British Museum has an excellent collection of them. They are vigorous, full of movement, and very good examples of original creative imagination. The Indian sculpture seems to attain its highest level during 300–600 A.D., when all influences combined to form a national art increasingly Brahminical. This was the golden age of Indian literature and art; the classic Sanskrit dramas, the paintings at Ajanta, the epics and the Puranas in their final forms, books on architecture and images all belong to this period. It was also an age of colonial expansion in Java and Cambodia. Later on, during the 7th and 8th centuries, sculpture became more and more refined, conscious and elaborate, gradually losing the magnificent solidity and dramatic vitality of the earlier sculptures. There are many such specimens of highly finished workmanship especially in Bengal (8th–11th century). Art in Bengal had great influence on Nepalese art. By that time art of all the Eastern neighbouring countries were also more or less influenced by Indian art. The art of Java and Cambodia is simply a development of that of the Indian art in the Gupta period (320 A.D.–480 A.D.), the influence of which on Chinese art was also very great. Mrs. Warner writes in this connexion, "If Gāndāran forms were seen by the Chinese, Gupta forms of the 7th and 8th centuries [*sic*] were seen and to much better purpose. In them at least there is endurance enough, actually to inspire a Chinese craftsman."¹ During the Mogul period (1500–1700 A.D.) the artists regained some of their independence and produced many imaginative and original works. Dr. Coomaraswamy then proceeds to deal exhaustively with the different mythologies of India and has given full descriptions of almost all the divinities, which help us greatly to appreciate the

¹ *Japanese Art of Suiko Period.*

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illustrations of the book. Hindu mythology is naturally the most interesting and complex. Hindu psychology may be very well studied from the various kinds of garments, weapons, vehicles of images which include many deities, monsters, grotesque figures, and even planets. The Buddhist mythology began at about 200 B.C., and for a few centuries Indian art represented only Buddha and scenes from his life. But Mahāyana, the later Buddhism, recognizes many other divinities, which is no doubt from the influence of or competition with the Hindus. Jaina mythology also recognizes many legendary gods of the Hindus, and their art resembles the Buddhist, though rather stiff and uniform in character. Thus we can see that the cult of image worship was accepted by all religions in India. This idea of worship comes from the Hindu theory that "fixed attention is not possible without something on which to fix it." The Unconditioned and Absolute cannot be regarded as an object of worship, hence the necessity of icons. All the images have got precise descriptions according to their manifestations. These rules laid down by the priests show a very high standard of artistic sense and conviction, through which it was possible for mere craftsmen to produce some very fascinating and decorative works. Mr. Chanda, of the Calcutta Museum, says that though the artists were much hampered by so many rules they did show originality in many respects.¹ It is needless to say that no great work of art can be done through mere following of some rules; the monotony and lack of animation of Indian art in general prove this sad fact only too well. The works which are either influenced by the West or break away from established principles are far more impressive. The head of Buddha, No. 19,802 of the Gandhara school, greatly influenced by Greek art, is a very good example of it; the serene and divine expression of the face was never equalled nor improved upon. Later on, the Mogul paintings and panels of calligraphy of the 17th century proved this fact conclusively. There are some remarkable specimens of them at the Victoria and Albert Museum, bequeathed by Lady Wantage. The court painters who executed these exquisite works were totally free from the rigid rules of the past; while, on the other hand, the purely conventional dancing figures of Shiva (Natarāja), supposed to represent the Absolute in both manifest and unmanifest forms, are not at all convincing of the subtle idea within, though they are highly decorative and fantastic in a way. The conventional works show the misfortunes of the skilled artists whose technical abilities were utilized to popularize the devotional cults. The book contains many such illustrations, but besides them there are many other vigorous and imaginative works in which the personality of the artists flash now and then through the heavy clouds of a thoroughly conventional atmosphere.

PORTFOLIO OF INDIAN ART

The Portfolio is also profusely illustrated with almost all specimens of Indian art from the beginning of the Christian era till the 19th century. Besides many of the Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain deities there are numerous specimens of paintings,

¹ *Murti O Mandir.*

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drawings, jewellery, textiles, etc., selected from the collections of the museum, with all necessary descriptions and explanations. The sculptural works are collected not only from the different schools of India, but also from surrounding countries. The paintings and drawings include some Ajanta frescoes, leaves of manuscripts, scenes from Kuisha's life, the Rāginis and many specimens of the Mogul school. The pictures of the Rāginis—personified musical modes—are very interesting in their varied forms and conceptions, though appearing rather weak in drawing. The Mogul school shows a decided improvement in technique, as has already been discussed. There are many specimens of coins also, mostly of the Gupta period, which are supposed never to have been excelled. The coins are not all round, some of them are rectangular or square in shape. The jewellery contains many types of pendants, ear-rings, bracelets, etc. The textiles, mostly women's garments, are all decorated with fascinating floral designs.

ATUL BOSE.

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AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF CHINESE SCULPTURE. By LEIGH ASHTON.

ARE THE CHINESE PRIMARILY SCULPTORS?

Nothing more complete, more intelligent, or more ingenious could be imagined than this work by Leigh Ashton. This very perfection, however, brings with it a risk of leading the reader into error. This book must be studied by anyone who wants to know about Chinese sculpture, but, on the other hand, anyone who makes a study of Chinese art must place the views of Mr. Ashton, that is to say, set them in *their right relationship to the vast subject of the development of the arts of China*. Mr. Ashton has erred through an exaggerated love of his subject. An unusual reproach, akin to praise. But this demands an explanation.

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What I would say is that Mr. Ashton with his love and deep feeling for Chinese sculpture limits his admiration to sculpture and distributes arbitrarily the light he throws on Chinese art; he concentrates powerful rays on all that interests him and leaves anything that would interfere with his view in the shade.

To this he may reply: "But my subject is sculpture! Why speak of other things?" We agree. More, I would say that in the present state of our knowledge everything of interest and to the point on the subject has been said by Mr. Ashton with delicate erudition. He has even overstepped the limits of a monograph on Chinese sculpture, by connecting the development of plastic art with the historical and religious development of the country.

Nothing could be better, and every attempt to place æsthetic manifestations in their proper social milieu is to be welcomed. Why then did Mr. Ashton stop short? We have nothing but praise for his showing us how in every epoch plastic interpretations have been influenced by historical events and the transformations in current belief, but we regret that, having thus given Chinese sculpture its place in history, he has not attempted to show the place it took—more or less important, more or less original—among the other arts of the Celestial Empire.

A reader, who was not on his guard consulting Mr. Ashton's book, might think that sculpture was the richest, the widest-spread, the most peculiarly Chinese art that had been practised in China. If such is Mr. Ashton's real opinion, I regret that it is one I am unable to share.

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Mr. Ashton quotes two Buddhist inscriptions as typical. Dated 534, the one, engraved on a stele in the Metropolitan Museum of New York, runs thus: "The Supreme is incorporeal, but by means of images it is brought before our eyes." Taken from a statue in Pennsylvania University Museum in Philadelphia, the other runs: "The shortage of religious teachers renders it necessary to spread the precepts of Buddhism by expository works. Sculpture is the means whereby the divine

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truths have been made manifest." This double assertion is, in reality, a negation of ancient Chinese religious art.

Certainly, the introduction of Buddhism, and the rich outburst of sculpture which accompanied it, show quite clearly a sharp line of demarcation between ancient and medieval China. China and Chinese ideals were two thousand years old before the introduction of Buddhism. The question before us is whether the real China and its real ideals are those which developed early in the old land of the Middle Empire ; whether Buddhism, a foreign philosophy, introduced and supported by foreigners in China, is not merely one of those accidental happenings that the robust Empire has so often been called upon to endure ; whether the fundamental substance of Chinese genius has not remained true to itself, first and last.

In this case what does Buddhism represent from the point of view of originality and importance ? What place must sculpture fill in the hierarchy of the Chinese arts if, as I believe, it only owes its development in China to Buddhism ?

Critics, it is to be desired, before writing on Chinese art should be thoroughly acquainted with the works of Leopold de Saussure on the ancient astronomy of the country. Unfortunately these works are dispersed in the *T'oung pao*, in the *Journal Asiatique* and in other scientific reviews.

Beginning as an astronomer with the elucidation of some scientific problems, Leopold de Saussure found himself led into drawing up a table of the general beliefs of Primitive China. At no time has anyone constructed so vast a system or one so well linked together. Established some four to five thousand years ago, probably on theories of Mesopotamian origin, Chinese cosmology includes the whole universe in a network of sympathies stretching from heaven to earth, it establishes the power of the Son of Heaven, immobile centre of terrestrial space, in correspondence with the power of the Pole, immobile centre of celestial space, and regulates human actions in connexion with the situation and movement of the stars.

Anyone wishing to understand the Chinese genius must always bear in mind this purely intellectual conception of man and the world. The Chinaman has not had a religion, he has created a system into which the mind alone entered, which he conceived as an equilibrium of cosmic forces of which astronomy was the means and of which the Son of Heaven was the regulator.

In such a system, in which virtue was only the consequence of universal harmony, the art of forms could only arise as a function of this ; it was but a wheel in gear with other wheels ; a position that may appear humble to some, but eminent indeed to those who understand the grandeur of the Chinese system.

He who would form an idea of the essence of Chinese art cannot choose better than the two most important jade symbols : the disk *pi*, blue-green jade, perforated in the centre, pale azure-blue in colour—the symbol of Heaven ; the *ts'ong*, cylinder with four ridges, yellow jade, the colour of Chinese soil—the symbol of Earth. Their value lies only in their shape and colour. They are ornamented. The pure ideal

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character of primitive Chinese art appears nowhere better than in this pair of ritual objects.

When Buddhism, a foreign religion, says: "The Supreme requires images to reveal itself to our eyes," it explains and justifies the art of sculpture. But it is wounding to ancient Chinese intellectualism, the chief characteristic of the race, of its art and spirit. Thus we see that in China sculpture was only a subsidiary art.

I foresee objections to this point of view, objections which are doomed to failure if I can show that, before and apart from Buddhism, Chinese sculpture had no national value. I will deal briefly with this.

It is not surprising that primitive and traditional Chinese art—a pure and naked expression of cosmic symbols or material for vessels that served in the celebration of religious rites—neglected to model detached figures. Plastic art, which is the reproduction of natural forms, has nothing in common with the ideal conception of the early Chinese.

Even when the taste for decoration develops, China displays its deepest originality in the ornamentation of surface. Then comes an epoch, under the Han, when stone is decorated in more or less decided relief, with scenes in which human beings play a part; but even then the ornamental feeling persists. The artist had, therefore, every reason to feel free to enrich the body of a ceremonial vessel; he was the prisoner of ritual forms, but his spirit loved this slavery; far from escaping he observed the acknowledged limits, gaining in force and precision what he lost in phantasy. The severe lines of the vessel bound him on every side, but within these contours he moved without constraint; all ornament is dictated by the form of the object to be decorated; a discipline which is applied as severely to the body of the object as to its handle or lid. This is the reason why, from the beginning, the Chinese have been the finest bronze-workers in the world—not because of their technical ability. On the other hand, you may search antiquity for beautiful statues. They do not exist. On this subject we only have doubtful literary references. Apart from the earthen figurines of which the date is uncertain, there is only mention of the statues of the Chou or the Ts'in, which may be legendary. The Egyptians, the Greeks, the Khmers, found the intimate expression of their genius in statuary. There is nothing like it in China.

The first Chinese statues date from the Han period, very few only being known. Two winged lions carved in the round, found by Chavannes at the entrance to the burial-field of the Wou family, in the Chang-tong province, have been rediscovered by the Ségalen-Lartigue-Voisins Mission, as also another pair in the province of Sseu-tchouan. In this district the same mission saw, in the vicinity of the pillars of Kao Yi, a big stone statue of a man headless and with the torso decayed, which they assigned to the later Han dynasty, but the advanced state of decay made study difficult. Chavannes also saw, near the two pillars of the T'ai-che (Honan),

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two statues of men which he supposed to be contemporary with the pillars (i.e. A.D. 118); these statues were almost entirely buried in the ground.

What are we to think of the statues of men at the tomb of King Kong, of Lou, which are, we are told, in a garden of K'iu-feou? Who has seen them? Chavannes has had to content himself with reproducing them after the *Kin che sous* and with describing them after the *Chan tso kin che tche*. As for the statue of Confucius, kneeling, having princes and famous historical personages and the seventy-two disciples of the philosopher to his right and left, its very existence in the burial-chamber of Wen Wong (2nd century, B.C.) is even more uncertain; it is impossible to find any evidence of it before the Mongols. We know for certain the group situated in front of the tomb of General Ho Kiuping in the valley of the Wei (119 B.C.), and the two sepulchral statues photographed by Dr. Sirén in Honan. The first group, in stone, represents a charger trampling upon a barbarian, it has been considered a masterpiece; I am sorry to say that I cannot agree: stiffness and heaviness must not be confused with strength! This group, photographed by the Ségalen Mission and reproduced on Plate 7 of Mr. Ashton's book, bears witness to an art which is confused, awkward, and shows no mastery either of feeling, form, or means. As for the two stone statues of Honan (Plate 4), they are wretched effigies, bearing the same relation to statuary art as mere prattling does to the spoken word.

In this rich, supple, and ample Han epoch, that is so sure of itself, why do these coarse images betray the hesitation and poverty of an art that is not at home? Because the figures, whether of human beings or of animals, have moved away from the surface to which the traditional genius of the country had attached them; they wanted to free themselves, they came forward into the light, so there they are without support, stumbling, neither knowing how to move or how to stand still; they are indeed punished for their temerity.

Put against them the splendid phoenix of Plate 10, carved in light relief, from a memorial pillar of Sze-ch'uan. Stone could not possibly be handled with greater vigour, greater boldness, nor could force of style and realism of movement ever be so well united. Here we have indeed a perfectly balanced piece of work. Nothing could demonstrate better that true liberty holds itself in discipline.

Mr. Ashton has neither undervalued the existence nor yet the importance of this art of bas-relief, at its best in the Han period. Of this, his chapter, "The legacy of the Han bas-reliefs," is a proof. But he has put this chapter at the end of his book so that he may search for the origin of the Wei and T'ang bas-reliefs. In my opinion this survival of the Han work is of much more general interest. Here we must see the development of real Chinese genius, a genius of ornamentists rather than of statuaries.

If one is obliged to formulate a criticism of Mr. Ashton it is to reproach him for a simple error of presentation. He throws the limelight on sculpture, and in sculpture

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upon statuary art, whereas this art born of Buddhism—a Hindu religion—and developed by the Wei Tartars from Baikal, is doubly foreign to China.

Once this is agreed, Mr. Ashton's work deserves nothing but praise. Every amateur of art must have it in his library. I will now make a few brief remarks while turning over the pages.

Following Rostovtzeff, the author notes the resemblances between the "Scythian" and Chinese animal style on the one hand, and of the Sumerian animal style; a similarity that can be explained by a common origin in a forgotten civilization of Central Asia (Anau?). But Mr. Ashton only sees a separate development, a simple coincidence. His reasons fail to convince me. The study of this question is in its infancy, but I believe its development will take the direction indicated by Rostovtzeff.

On the other hand, Mr. Ashton is right in insisting, more than once, upon the indigenous character of the art of the Chou, on its difference from that of the Han in which so many outside influences played a part. China of the Chou dynasty was certainly not an enclosed vessel; it was, however, at this period and in the valley of the Wei that the real Chinese spirit became fixed; the Han period does mark the last stage in Chinese classical art.

Mr. Ashton is quite at ease in his analysis of the origin and development of Buddhist statuary: many of his views are highly interesting. For instance, he insists upon the influence of the Gupta school, which seems to him of greater importance than Gandharian influence. I have also come to the conclusion that in the Buddhist art of the Wei the chief element is neither Hindu nor Chinese, but purely Tartar, the Tobas Wei being a race of sculptors. This is a point that should be developed. It would also be interesting to pursue the examination of Hindu and Cambodian influences received through the South in the epoch of the Six Dynasties.

The objections that I have raised show the value of this book—a work on a subject which was certainly necessary. The author treats the question of Chinese sculpture both from a general point of view and in detail. Whatever its reception may be, the documents gathered together by Mr. Ashton, and his commentary upon them, furnish an excellent subject for discussion.

H. D'ARDENNE DE TIZAC.

THE YEAR BOOK OF ORIENTAL ART

JAPANESE SWORD-MOUNTS IN THE COLLECTIONS OF FIELD MUSEUM. By HELEN C. GUNSAULUS, Assistant Curator of Japanese Ethnology, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago; with an Appendix on the Restoration of Patina, by Henry W. Nichols, Associate Curator of Geology. Published by the Museum, 1923; 195 pp.; 61 plates.

Late in the seventies of last century the Japanese sword became by official ban a virtual drug in the market of its native country and during the next two or three decades was exported wholesale to the West, together with huge quantities of the detachable metal mounts provided for the constructive strengthening and decoration of the blade itself and of its scabbard. These were bought up with avidity by a world eager for the art products of a hitherto almost unknown country, but it is safe to say that in the West (and even in Japan itself) serious research in the wide and difficult field of study afforded by the decorative furniture of the Japanese sword began only in the first decade of the present century. The appearance of the *catalogues raisonnés* of the Jacoby and Moslé collections, of Hara's annotated list of sword-furniture makers (the collector's Bible, to use a hackneyed phrase), and of the tentative excursions into the subject by Brinkley, de Tressan and a few others, was followed from 1911 onwards by a series of illuminating articles, the result of far-reaching research, enshrined in the Hawkshaw, Naunton, and "Red Cross" catalogues and other works by the late H. L. Joly, through whose premature death in 1920 the world is still waiting for a comprehensive *magnum opus* that shall be the last word on the subject in hand.

Miss Gunsaulus, who "has devoted more than two years to a thorough study of the entire subject," now valiantly steps into the breach with a handbook based on the collection given to Field Museum by her father, the late Dr. Frank W. Gunsaulus. In the preface Dr. Berthold Laufer confidently anticipates that "this volume, by its compact and critical presentation of the material at hand and the addition of novel information in respect to the metal craftsmen, will prove of interest and make an appeal to the students of Japan, as well as the ethnologists and folklorists in general." And with this we may heartily and in general terms agree. But as one who has studied the subject for over fifteen years—and realizes how much there is yet to learn—the writer may perhaps be permitted to append a few criticisms in regard to details.

In the first place, of the two-hundred-odd examples included in the plates, some one hundred and thirty, it is fairly obvious, are given on a much reduced scale—a serious fault, especially when combined with unequal photography, a tendency to bad lighting, and a somewhat woolly quality of printing.

Next, it is clear that the author realizes the necessity, in such a work, of accuracy and uniformity in the spelling of foreign words and names, and has made a conscientious effort in that direction, an effort that has, alas! to a very considerable extent, failed of fruition. For example, the important index of signatures, twenty

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pages long, contains some fifty mis-spellings, many of them elementary and obvious, but none the less annoying.

Lack of space prevents more than a bare recital, in *résumé*, of a string of inaccurate and misleading statements on pages 33-4 regarding constructive details of the sword. The absurdity of most of them will be patent to the tiro and they require but little comment :

(a) The *tsuba* (guard) is declared to be "securely fastened" to the tang of the blade by means of the *fuchi* (ferrule) !

(b) The two *menuki* are said to come "immediately below" the *kashira* and to "cover the *mekugi* (rivets)." (Notice the plural.)

(c) Sometimes "other *menuki*," it is stated, decorate the scabbard, and, if of some size, are called *kanamono*, in common with the metal ornaments of pouches. This term, literally "hardware" (*sic*), is accused of being misleading for objects of a purely artistic nature and quality. (Observe how the question is begged by the mistranslation.)

(d) The *habaki*, says our author, fits *into* the tang-hole of the guard !

(e) The *udenuki* holes on guards are alluded to as if always found with the (purely conjectural) sword-knot.

In short, it would seem as if Miss Gunsaulus has restricted her study entirely to detached mounts and to imperfectly understood written descriptions of the swords as fully fitted.

Finally, on page 35 it is implied that "the alloy *par excellence*" used in making sword-furniture is *karakane* (practically bronze), which in actual fact is very rarely found in extant specimens.

A. J. KOOP.

To Mr. Koop's review I will add a note on Miss Gunsaulus's interpretation (p. 19) of the poem :

<i>Honobono to</i>	I am thinking of a boat
<i>Akashi no ura no</i>	That dimly, dimly
<i>Asa-giri ni</i>	In the morning mist
<i>Shima-gakure-yaku</i>	Of the shore of Akashi
<i>Fune wo shi zo omou.</i>	Goes island-hid.

Miss Gunsaulus says : "B. Chamberlain and A. Waley have each interpreted the poem, translating the word *shima-gakure* 'island-hid.' It is an old expression meaning 'things hidden in the distance of the sea,' and not necessarily denoting any island." This explanation is based on the *Kokinshū Tōkagami*¹ of Moto-ori (1730-1801) and is not accepted in most modern editions of the *Kokinshū*. Neither Moto-ori nor Miss Gunsaulus quote any other passage in which *shima-gakure* has this meaning. The difficulty is that there are no islands off the shore of Akashi. May not an earthquake have removed them ?

A. D. W.

¹ III, 19.

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BLOCK PRINTS FROM INDIA FOR TEXTILES. By ALBERT BUELL LEWIS. 24 plates. Anthropological Design Series No. 1. Field Museum of Natural History. Chicago, 1924.

This is the first of a series planned for the benefit of practical modern designers, craftsmen, and manufacturers. The second number will be devoted to Javanese batiks, and the third to the art of bamboo drawing as practised in China and Japan.

